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The Shape of Things

THE TAX BILL VOTED BY CONGRESS AFTER months of wrangling can best be described as Ruml and water, but with the dilution no more than 25 per cent it makes a pretty intoxicating drink for the upper brackets. As Representative Dingell pointed out in the final debate, it means for the big taxpayers "an outright and irretrievable bonus, the equivalent of all the tax increases we have imposed on them in the past five years." It is the small taxpayers that will suffer the hangover, for when Congress turns to the question of raising additional revenue it will find that it cannot increase tax rates in the upper brackets by more than 1 or 2 per cent and will have to collect the necessary billions by doubling and trebling the rates in the lower brackets. Taken in the near future, this step might well prove political dynamite, and a Congressional agreement to postpone consideration of changes in income-tax rates until next year is significant. But additional revenue must be obtained somehow, and sales-tax propaganda is again being heard. For while the sales tax also falls with excessive weight on small incomes, its burden is not so immediately noticeable, or so politically dangerous, as that of an increase in income tax. Meanwhile, the Treasury has pointed out that corporation profits are expanding again and might well be subjected to higher normal tax rates. Aggregate net income of corporations for the current year is estimated at $25 billion compared with $19.5 billion last year and $9.4 billion in 1940, while net income after taxes is expected to exceed that of the banner year 1941. Although we are hearing many wails about the disastrous impact of taxes on corporation finances, it would seem that we have still some way to go before "taking the profits out of war."

*

THE WORST WE CAN SAY OF JOHN L. LEWIS is that he deserves the compliments paid him by the *Völkischer Beobachter* on June 4. His attitude is best described in the terms he himself hurled at the War Labor Board. "Self-importance . . . jealous and vindictive . . . place their own vanity above the national interest . . . piously arrogant . . . pompous and capricious . . . seduced by their own egotism"—these phrases

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from Lewis's latest salvo at the WLB are an unerring, if unconscious, self-portrait. At the President's orders Lewis has instructed the miners to return to work, but with a new deadline of June 20. That he will win a considerable victory for the miners before that date is clear. For he and the operators were reported only 50 cents apart on the portal-to-portal pay issue, and his greatest ally in hastening a settlement is the retroactive feature of the pending agreement. The government has promised higher coal prices to make up for any pay increase, and the longer the operators delay the more that retroactive feature will cost them. They cannot charge the government for coal they did not mine. But Lewis and his miners, and the labor movement as a whole, will suffer irreparable damage from a strike which was irresponsible and unpatriotic and unjustified, no matter what the miners' grievances.

*

THE STRIKE COST THE COUNTRY A LOSS OF 2,000,000 tons of coal a day and the shutting down of more than a dozen steel blast furnaces dependent on this coal. It has disgraced labor in the eyes of our fighting men and given the right a powerful weapon in its campaign to stir anti-labor feelings in the army and navy. In Congress the strike led to the passage of a drastic bill for the control of labor and strikes by a majority so large as to make a veto by the President politically difficult. The original Connally bill, as passed by the Senate, was unpalatable enough to labor. The version as rewritten on the House floor and jammed through by a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats is virtually the old Smith bill, which was killed in the Senate after Pearl Harbor. Some of its worst features—notably the anti-closed-shop and labor-injunction clauses—were struck out at Smith's own motion. But what remains is still one of the most drastic pieces of anti-labor legislation to be passed by Congress in many years. The President should veto the bill. Labor in general has been extraordinarily successful in maintaining its anti-strike pledge, and the passage in haste and high feeling of such far-reaching legislation is nothing short of reckless.

*

ALL THAT MARS THE PERFECT HARMONY OF the Republican Party is the question of what the world should be like after the war. The world has not been a major consideration in Republican politics for some years, and it might have been by-passed once more if a group of pro-Willkie fanatics had not forced things by organizing what they call a Post-War Policy Association —and what the Chicago *Tribune* calls "Betrayal, Inc." The association is committed to a block-to-block, farm-to-farm campaign to line up delegates pledged to the Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill resolution, to a post-war international council based on the United Nations, and to the defeat of the party's isolationists, who, according to the association's leader, now mask as "super-patriots" and "nationalists." Confronted with the issue in this ugly way, the Republican National Committee has taken steps to keep the quarrel in the family. A Council of Forty-nine has been set up to make a dispassionate study and to bring to next summer's convention a report which, it is hoped, will be quietly accepted as the conclusive findings of the party experts on post-war worlds. Absent from this official advisory council are Wendell Willkie, who wrote of "One World," Senators Ball and Burton, co-authors of the famous resolution, William Allen White and Governor Stassen, and other famous Republicans whose minds carry beyond the barriers of ocean. Among the Forty-niners, on the other hand, are Senators Taft and Vandenberg, Joe Martin, Clarence Budington Kelland, and many more who, even according to the Republican New York *Herald Tribune,* "can only see as far ahead as the ends of their noses on a very clear day." We could have told Committee Chairman Spangler that his hope of undermining the maverick Post-War Policy Association would have been better served by burying its leaders in his advisory council. But fortunately we were not asked.

*

THE BULK OF EDSEL FORD'S HOLDINGS IN the Ford Motor Company have been bequeathed to the Ford Foundation, an institution for the promotion of "scientific, educational, and charitable purposes," and eventually his father's shares are likely to find the same resting place. Is this a generous gesture or a device for dodging taxes and perpetuating the Ford family's industrial power? Fairly clearly it is the latter, for if estate and inheritance taxes were paid on the whole Ford fortune it would be reduced by at least 75 per cent. The family would still be comfortably situated as regards income, but a majority of the Ford holdings would probably have to be liquidated to satisfy the demands of the Treasury. By turning over the majority of its stock to the foundation, however, and by sacrificing income, the family can retain power over the industrial empire indefinitely. This delightfully simple solution to the multi-millionaire's great problem is made possible by the exemption from all estate duties of bequests for "the public welfare." In the case of the Edsel Ford fortune it means that a mere $12,000,000 or so will be paid to the Treasury instead of upward of $150,000,000 if the whole had been subject to inheritance taxes. The Fords are not the only rich men to take advantage of a legal loophole which Congress ought to close in the next revenue bill. Income-tax payers can claim exemption for gifts to charity only to the extent of 15 per cent of their taxable income. Perhaps tax-free bequests should be limited to the same extent. But in any case exemption should be refused in cases where the beneficiary is an organization controlled by the family of the donor.

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THE CHINESE ADVANCE SOUTH OF ICHANG has turned out to be one of the most decisive victories of the six-year-old war. Chiang Kai-shek's troops have not only retaken a considerable part of the territory lost as a result of the powerful Japanese offensive, but are now presenting a formidable threat to Ichang itself. While it seems unlikely that the Chinese army will be able to advance much farther at this time, its success suggests immense possibilities once the Chinese are given adequate air support. All the Japanese victories in the past have been won with the advantage of overwhelming air superiority. The Ichang battle was the first in which the Chinese had control of the skies, and their ability to storm strongly fortified Japanese defenses under an air umbrella suggests that the airplane may be even more decisive in Far Eastern fighting than it was in Tunisia. The effectiveness of a few dozen planes in turning the tide of a major Japanese offensive should convince even the most hard-boiled "realist" of the desirability of giving Chinese needs a higher priority than has been assigned them in the past. General Chennault's satisfaction with the decisions recently made in Washington suggests that more aid will be forthcoming soon.

The Meaning of Algiers

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

PEOPLE are saying that France was reborn in Algiers last week. Some are even suggesting that American and British officials in North Africa served as midwives skilfully assisting in a dangerous and painful delivery.

Neither statement is true. France was never dead. It lived on from the hour of defeat and surrender in the tough, courageous resistance of the Fighting French forces organized under General de Gaulle and in the underground, carrying out in the very teeth of the Nazi occupation a growing program of sabotage and political organization. It survived in even more effective form when these patriotic elements joined forces, when the Fighting French office in London was augmented by escaped leaders of the resistance inside France and became in fact as well as name a National Committee. Before the first American soldier set foot on an African beach, a large part of the French Empire was enlisted under the leadership of De Gaulle and administered according to the laws of the republic. In spite of immense obstacles, not the least of which was the policy pursued in Washington, fighting France was already a going concern.

The hostility of the United States government to De Gaulle has been variously explained. Walter Lippmann charitably attributes it to the "error of our diplomatic agents in failing to understand and therefore to report correctly to the State Department and to the White House the dominating and ascending importance of the national movement which has rallied around General Charles de Gaulle." Others, of more psychological turn of mind, have interpreted our behavior as a defense mechanism resulting from our equivocal relations with Vichy: De Gaulle became the very personification of our national sense of guilt. Both explanations are plausible. Both are humiliating. But even taken together they fail to take account of the powerful current of political reaction in the State Department. To those men who hope to stave off revolution in Europe by piling sandbags around all the crumbling symbols of "authority," De Gaulle has represented the threat of popular control. They resist him not because they are unaware of the "dominating and ascending importance" of his following, but because they are aware and afraid of it.

Why did our representatives in North Africa succeed in postponing, time after time, from the first of January until the end of May, the visit of De Gaulle to Algiers? Why, when the visit was finally agreed upon, did they, with Giraud, try to arrange the meeting in some obscure spot outside the capital? Was it because they were unaware of De Gaulle's popularity? Or was it because they knew that the great tide of support which had risen around his name and the cause of Fighting France would overwhelm the political dykes set up by our own authorities and the men they had placed or maintained in power during the North African operations? The answer is clear enough. They were afraid of the popularity of De Gaulle even in Algiers. They knew that his arrival in North Africa would cause difficulties —not merely, as they like to pretend, because De Gaulle himself is "difficult," but because his stubborn insistence on a civilian authority representing all the genuine elements of French resistance meant the final end of America's Vichy policy.

No, it is too late for the State Department to claim that the creation of the National Committee of Liberation took place either under our aegis or according to our wishes. The very tone of the dispatches, the comments of officials, prove the contrary. What impatience was betrayed when the conferees took three full days to arrive at an understanding! (Was this really so long a time to devote to the creation of a de facto government for the French Empire?) And when it became clear that De Gaulle was proving stubborn about the Vichy holdovers in high office, what bland refusal to acknowledge that a purge of the worst collaborationists was the bare minimum he could demand and still keep the confidence of the French masses!

Luckily the French leader *is* difficult and stubborn. And as a result, Noguès, Peyrouton, Lemaigre-Dubreuil, Mendigal, and Bergeret have all been swept out of

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office. Others are scheduled to go. And the Committee of Liberation itself, although not free of questionable members—especially the newly arrived five-star general, Alphonse-Joseph Georges—is moderately promising. The compromises De Gaulle has doubtless felt forced to make offer no fatal obstacle to a vigorous policy in support of the war and a rapid liquidation of the remnants of Vichy rule in Africa. But he will have to watch both his new colleagues and his allies.

It is probable that the Committee of National Liberation can survive its inner conflicts if the British and Americans accept without qualification the independence and sovereignty of the new body, give it prompt diplomatic recognition and representation in the Allied war councils, and regard with patience and decent respect the difficulties it still faces. To do this the United States will have to abandon both its past policy and its recent practice. From now on France will mold its own future. The demonstration of popular support in Algiers gave De Gaulle more power than the backing of American arms and diplomacy could give Giraud. If our government can find the humility to accept and understand this fact, the bitter political struggle in North Africa will have been worth while.

For the thing we should have learned in Algiers is the encouraging truth that the French people are still a force to be reckoned with—that no political arrangements made in defiance or disregard of their will are going to hold. And if this has proved true in North Africa, how much more clearly will it be demonstrated in Continental France, where organized resistance and the spirit of revolt are developed to a degree that is impossible to achieve under the conditions existing in North Africa.

It must be remembered by our leaders, military and political, that North Africa is not an end. It is hardly a beginning. Europe comes next. And in every country awaiting liberation lie political pitfalls into which our feet will surely stumble if the lesson of Algiers has not been learned. Not only will our Darlans be assassinated; not only will our Girauds be regarded with watchful skepticism; but even our most benevolent arrangements for the guidance and orderly development of the countries we "free" will be promptly overthrown unless they represent the will of the men and women who have risked their lives for their own freedom.

This urgent lesson was clearly expounded in the speech by General de Gaulle last Sunday. Let us hope it has penetrated the smug confines of the Department of State. Let us hope, too, that it was read aloud in the more enlightened classrooms of the School of Military Government at Charlottesville. It is the most important piece of political equipment our "military administrators" should carry with them on their coming foreign assignments.

The New Wagner Bill

AS A first step toward the better America that we tell ourselves must emerge from this war, Senators Wagner and Murray, together with Representative Dingell of Michigan, last week introduced a bill into Congress embodying an "American Beveridge plan." The bill, which is without question the most significant measure to come before this session of Congress, is more than a legislative version of the now celebrated National Resources Planning Board Report. Like the original Beveridge plan it envisions a single, comprehensive program providing protection against financial loss resulting from unemployment, sickness, disability, old age, widowhood, and death. It goes beyond the recommendations of the NRPB and the Social Security Board in setting forth a concrete plan for medical and hospital insurance and in providing full social-security protection to the members of the armed forces upon demobilization.

In other particulars the new Wagner bill closely follows the NRPB recommendations. It would set up a single, national system of insurance replacing the cumbersome federal-state unemployment-compensation system. It would extend the payment of unemployment benefits to twenty-six, or possibly fifty-two, weeks instead of the fifteen or sixteen weeks now in force. It would provide dependents' allowances for the unemployed so that the children in large families will not be discriminated against. It would extend the protection of old-age insurance to some 15,000,000 persons not now protected, including farm workers, domestic servants, employees of non-profit organizations, independent farmers, small business men, and professional men. It would provide protection against temporary or permanent disability.

There are actually but three important types of protection provided in the original Beveridge plan that are not included in the Wagner bill. All these omissions are unfortunate, but they probably can be explained by lack of preparatory studies by the NRPB or the Social Security Board. The first is the failure to provide for the costs of dental care along with those of medical care. The experience of Selective Service authorities fully bears out earlier investigations in the schools which revealed that a majority of American children have defective teeth largely because of inability to meet the costs of adequate dental care. Second, the Wagner bill omits coverage of the unusual costs of maternity care. Nearly all other industrial countries have found it desirable to make sure that its children had an opportunity to be born under as healthful conditions as possible. Even more distressing is the failure of the bill to provide a system of children's allowances such as Beveridge has proposed for England. Basically, no other phase of social security is more important. For as Sir William never tires of

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pointing out, such allowances are an essential outgrowth of the democratic faith.

In contrast to the Beveridge plan, Senator Wagner would finance his program primarily by direct taxation on the persons who presumably will derive the greatest benefits from security. To this end he proposes that the existing pay-roll tax on employers and employees be raised to a total of 12 per cent. Since the amount of money collected under such a tax would be several billion dollars a year more than would be needed to pay immediate benefits, his plan is actually a sort of forced-savings program to help pay for the war. These savings would be paid back after the war in social-security benefits instead of cash. Senator Wagner himself attaches great importance to this aspect of his program. Politically, it doubtless represents sound strategy, since it should attract support from the groups that are seeking to place the financial burden of the war on the low income groups. But the tax and security programs do not *necessarily* have to go together, and it would be wise for the National Resources Planning Board, the Treasury, or some other federal agency to make a careful investigation of the financial capacities of low-income families before a regressive tax of this size is imposed. Even such a comprehensive program as Senator Wagner's can be supported by a considerably lower tax rate than that suggested.

Argentina's Fake Revolt

THE quick success of last week's revolt in Argentina was equaled only by the speed of its unmasking. Confused as were the motives behind the military upset, it was perfectly clear that the generals who during the first forty-eight hours replaced Ramón Castillo were at least as reactionary as he. Their initial moves were conclusive. They chose as the only civil members of the new Cabinet two well-known rightists. One of them, the Finance Minister, José Maria Rosa, is not only a reactionary but a declared enemy of the United Nations. They made no effort to obtain, even for the sake of appearances, the collaboration of distinguished conservatives like Señor Cantilo, the former Foreign Minister, or of moderate liberals like Señor Saavedra Lamas, rector of the University of Buenos Aires—both uncompromising opponents of Hitlerism. The Cabinet dissolved Congress, the bulwark of the fight for the end of pro-Nazi neutrality. It suppressed *La Hora,* a near-Communist newspaper, and one favoring a new attitude toward the Allies. It did not touch *Pampero* and *Cabildo,* which continue their abuse of the United Nations and their pro-German propaganda.

By their total lack of caution in exposing the political color of the new government, the generals sealed their own fate. The Argentine public, at first jubilant at the overthrow of Castillo, reacted quickly. Resentment at the character of the Cabinet forced its replacement overnight. This is encouraging because it shows that opinion still has power in Argentina. But it must be admitted that the new government, headed by General Pedro Pablo Ramirez and made up entirely of military men, offers small other grounds for optimism. Ramirez drew the lesson from the fate of his predecessor and proclaimed democracy from the balcony of the Casa Rosada. He also pledged friendship to the other American republics and neutrality "for the present" toward the rest of the world. This was obviously the least he could offer. Optimistic diplomats point to the qualifying words "for the present" as offering hope that Argentina may now swing into line with the rest of the hemisphere. In internal policy the new men have so far made no move to undo the work of the first Cabinet.

The whole sequence of events, however, has demonstrated how weak was the foundation on which the Castillo regime rested and how easy it would have been for the United Nations to help the Argentine people establish a democratic government. It is no longer a secret that more than a year ago an important Argentine parliamentary delegation arrived in the United States at the invitation of our government. Among the delegates were some of the chief elements of the opposition. The delegation was very exact in foreseeing the developments that have since taken place. And it formally recommended a policy of support for the democratic forces in Argentina which favored collaboration with the United States.

Some modest gestures were made in that direction. Sumner Welles addressed a solemn warning to the Castillo government. Argentina was pointedly omitted from the list of nations participating in the food conference at Hot Springs. But those were only half measures. What was necessary was an honest recognition that only a daring policy of collaboration—material as well as moral—with the democrats of Argentina could meet the demands of the hour. Such a policy would have led to quite different results from the ones we are witnessing today. Instead of seeing Castillo replaced by a bunch of reactionary generals, with no clear orientation in the foreign field, we could have had in power a democratic government, bringing to the war effort and to the preparation of the peace the important contribution of the leading South American country.

It is difficult, in the midst of change and confusion, to predict immediate developments or to suggest a definite line of policy. One thing remains unchanged—the strong desire of the Argentine people to see democracy win within the country and to see Argentina finally incorporated in the inter-American front. That desire gives the United Nations, and especially Washington, strong grounds for refusing recognition to any regime that does not offer a constitutional, democratic set-up.

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Esso Family Reunion

BY I. F. STONE

Flemington, N. J., June 1

LUNCHEON for the stockholders of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey was served on the first floor of the Patrons of Husbandry Hall by the good ladies of the Grandview Grange, and in the dining-room of the Union Hotel. This ancient hotel might have provided a scene in Dickens's "American Notes." The wall panels, hand-painted by local talent, depict Thomas Jefferson, Washington Crossing the Delaware, the Barefoot Boy, and two Indian squaws husking corn. The squaws look like Anglo-Saxon middle-class matrons and carry themselves with the hauteur of Daughters of the American Revolution.

Outside the hotel, on the broad veranda, was a sizable collection of local citizens gathered for the town's one great annual event; this, the seat of Hunterdon County, being otherwise distinguished only for the trial of the Lindbergh kidnapper. The stockholders' meeting was held in the second-floor loft of the whitewashed Patrons of Husbandry building nearby. During the proceedings a rooster in the neighborhood interjected from time to time a friendly cock-a-doodle-doo. The company claque, as obvious as an Italian opera star's, seemed to think it an uproarious joke whenever a cock crow interrupted a minority stockholder's speech, though the rooster was otherwise accepted quietly as part of the meeting's Old Home Week décor.

The setting seemed designed to give the Standard Oil Company an Early American flavor. The sterner note befitting our times was also struck. Two survivors of torpedoed Standard Oil tankers, one a shy young Bostonian, the other a Swedish boatswain, were introduced, and told of their experiences with quiet understatement. "They happened to be in town," Ralph W. Gallagher, president of Standard Oil, explained, "and I just couldn't resist the temptation to ask them to come over and talk to us." The temptation was understandable. Later, when the company's cartel relations with I. G. Farben were attacked by minority spokesmen, an indignant stockholder jumped up to point at the two seamen and ask how anyone could question the patriotism of a company which had given the lives of three hundred of its men in the war against the submarine. At this point your correspondent was taken ill.

The stockholders looked like a gathering of Grant Wood faces. They seemed to stem largely from what might be termed the *Lumpenbourgeoisie;* most of them elderly folk, some a little threadbare. They seemed the kind of good people who have retired on meager incomes from hard-saved earnings, and apparently regarded the meeting, with its free ride to bucolic Flemington and its free lunch, as a pleasant annual junket. Among them, conspicuous in the discussions, in which few took part, were a small group of stockholders unable to restrain their indignant loyalty to the company. This handful was curiously self-possessed under circumstances which would make the ordinary person nervous; they seemed accustomed to facing an audience, and I had a feeling that several of them might well be "bit" actors from Broadway—they looked their parts so well.

There was the Brooklynite who jumped up to shout "we hoid all dis before" when William Floyd II, leader of a little minority band, asked the company to promise that it would not resume its cartel with I. G. Farben after the war. There was the Jewish lady, with a nose so large as to cast doubt upon its authenticity, who might have stepped out of a comedy role in a burlesque circuit. She rose to testify to her faith in management, with lowly simplicity and a Brownsville (New York, not Texas) accent. There was the Retired Major, who asked whether the company couldn't save a little by getting a new auditing firm, and then hastened to answer his own question by suggesting that after all he supposed it cost quite a bit to audit the accounts of a company whose operations extended "the world over." There was that hardy perennial of Standard Oil meetings, former Ambassador Gerard, who reassured the stockholders from his personal observations in Germany and expressed his annual confidence in the management. Much was made of Gerard's testimony by another loyal stockholder, from whose remarks one would hardly have gathered that Gerard left the Reich ten years before I. G. Farben was formed.

The whopper of the meeting was Gallagher's unblushing statement, "We never had *any* cartel agreement with I. G. Farbenindustrie. What we *did* do was to *buy* from I. G. Farben some patent rights and part interest in inventions." The italics are his. This is a bald falsehood, as anyone can see for himself who reads the Standard-I. G. agreements reprinted in Part 6 of the Bone patents committee hearings or Part 11 of the Truman committee's. The agreements pledged the two giant firms not to muscle in on each other's markets and sought to divide the world between them. The heart of the cartel was the division-of-fields agreement of November 9, 1929, which can be found in either volume.

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A committee of five minority stockholders with 744 shares among them managed miraculously to roll up 228,759 share votes for a resolution which would have pledged the management not to resume its cartel with I. G. Farben after the war. Floyd, the head of this committee, and Amos C. Basel, its counsel, were jeered and heckled as they spoke. ("It's like a scene from Ibsen's 'Enemy of the People,' " whispered their chief supporter, Mrs. Florence K. Mixter.) Gallagher had personally solicited proxies against the resolution, and obtained 17,396,705 votes from the 24,000,000 shares of common it has outstanding. Gallagher, having denied there ever was a cartel, said the resolution posed a "will you stop beating your wife?" question. The company's objection to accepting the resolution, as Alfred Baker Lewis suggested from the floor, seemed to be that it did not want its hands tied in case it decided to "beat its wife" in the future.

Little more than a year has passed since the revelations in Washington on the part played by the Standard–I. G. Farben cartel in delaying the development of both synthetic rubber and aviation gas in this country. The full effects of this powerful weapon of economic warfare in the hands of the Hitler government will be felt this fall, when the rubber shortage will reach its peak. Yet after a persistent and nation-wide campaign of misstatement and misrepresentation, Standard Oil felt strong enough to fight an anti-cartel resolution publicly and was strong enough to get away with it. The stockholders' vote will some day be used as though it were an authorization to resume the cartel, unless the people of Germany after the war decide to make that impossible by sweeping away I. G. Farben as well as Hitler.

I hope soon, in another letter, to discuss the "free" patents offer with which Standard Oil hopes to make sure that the cartel, when revived, will control the rubber industry of our country. I note now only that there was a completely unorganized protest vote of 37,609 shares against that offer and that Basel forced E. F. Johnson, Standard Oil's general counsel, to admit at the meeting that the Alien Property Custodian had taken over as enemy-owned the rubber patents which Standard is offering free to the rubber industry. "Free," that is, with enough hidden strings attached to give Standard control of the industry and enable it to charge royalties on these same "free" patents.

Mexico's "Social Justice" Party

BY BETTY KIRK

ON NOVEMBER 30, 1942, all members of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies and the Senate signed the constitution of the National Anti-Nazi, Anti-Fascist Committee, an organization made up of Congressmen and civic leaders to fight the fifth column in Mexico. One article in the constitution says: "Given the documentary proof which we possess, we consider Sinarquismo and other organizations affiliated with it a fifth column which follows in Mexico the lead of the Falange Española and uses Nazi-Fascist tactics. Their activities are a threat to our nation and are systematically opposed to good relations between our country and other democracies."

This official statement puts the finger on the source of the growing anti-United States propaganda in Mexico today. Such propaganda is more widespread than it was when Pearl Harbor was attacked and has been growing rapidly since Mexico went to war.

Yet for more than a year a campaign has been under way in the United States to whitewash the Sinarquista movement, to sell it to the public, and to promote a similar fifth column in the United States. The whitewash campaign was given sound effects this spring when Sinarquista intellectuals began lecture tours in this country, wrote letters to our newspapers misrepresenting the facts of the movement, and received enthusiastic support from their sympathizers here. Not content with this intellectual infiltration, the Sinarquistas and their supporters are smearing every writer or publication that dares to expose their subversive character and totalitarian program.

The battle cry of the Sinarquistas is "social justice." It was therefore appropriate that Father Charles Coughlin should be their first sponsor here. In his *Social Justice* of September 22, 1941, he published a defense of the movement which ended: "Advocates of Christian Social Justice in America, Christian Americans who once dreamed of a national union to effect a sixteen-point reform and who have watched the progress of the Christian states headed by Salazar, De Valera, General Franco, and Mussolini, will want to hear further from Mexico's Sinarquistas with their sixteen principles of Social Justice." Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* has since been suspended as subversive literature by Attorney General Biddle.

The next sales talk on Sinarquismo appeared in the *Tablet,* published by Father Jerome Holland of Brooklyn, in its issue of November 8, 1941. On April 18, 1942, *America,* published by the Society of Jesus, took up the cudgels for the Mexican movement. The *Sign* for

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November, 1942, brought forth an article of the same character, which was reprinted in the *Catholic Digest* of December, 1942. The West Coast was heard from in February, 1943, when Mt. Angel College in Oregon issued a pamphlet called "Sinarchism—the Hope of Mexico's Poor." On April 18, 1943, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference issued a publicity release whitewashing the Sinarquistas, and on May 8, 1943, Father Holland, fresh from a trip to Mexico, published the Sinarquistas' sixteen-point program. In the same issue the Brooklyn priest defended the Franco regime.

It is time that the people of the United States—particularly loyal, democratic Catholics who support our war effort and are not Coughlinites—understood how they are being hoodwinked. The best way to unmask the Sinarquistas is to quote from their own publications. But first it is essential to see who they are.

SINARQUISMO IS BORN

Five men met in the city of Léon, Guanajuato, on May 23, 1937, to organize the National Sinarquista Union. It was the year in which the Falange Española was organized in Mexico and Father Coughlin's Christian Front began to operate in the United States. The original members of Sinarquismo were José Trueba Olivares, José Antonio Urquiza, Manual Zermeno, Ruben Mendoza, and Francisco Ornelas. They were all Jesuit-trained aristocrats and intellectuals.

The five original members were joined by fifteen organizers, young intellectuals who canvassed the country for recruits, using methods best described as "a Franciscan program and Jesuit tactics." Each went among the poor like the friars of old, eating their bread, sharing their roof, and organized in every humble village a cell of five. Each member of this cell recruited another five, each of the twenty-five enlisted five more, and so on. In six years they built up an organization of 700,000 adult male members. If each man has a family of five, 3,500,000 persons are dedicated to the cause out of a total population of less than 20,000,000.

The movement is directed by a national committee which appoints and governs regional committees. These in turn appoint and govern municipal committees which have rural subcommittees under them. It is a hierarchic system, appointive from top to bottom, the perfect pattern of the corporate state. Elections are unknown.

The directors are aristocratic intellectuals, many of them members of the old *hacendado* class, masquerading as popular leaders. The membership is made up almost entirely of Indian peasants, illiterate and devout. The members are called "soldiers"; their recruiting is a "conquest." They are organized in military formations and given military training, and they call their leaders "Chief." The members give a salute—of the right arm crossed over the chest, the hand extended above the opposite shoulder. They wear arm bands and carry a flag with a white circle on a red background; in the center of the circle is a green map of Mexico stamped with the letters P. N. S.—Partido Nacional Sinarquista. In this regalia they are led on marches about the country chanting, "Fe y Patria! Viva Cristo Rey!"—"Faith and Country! Long Live Christ the King!" It is the cry of the fanatic Cristeros who led a bloody civil war in Mexico in the twenties.

The Sinarquistas have a weekly newspaper, *El Sinarquista,* and a monthly magazine called *Orden.* Both talk of persecution and martyrdom and exhort the people to die to "save Mexico." They must "save" it from the Revolution, the Bolsheviks, the gringos, the Masons, Protestants, and Jews. Mexico will only be saved when it is restored to its traditional patterns. These were described in the anniversary issue of *El Sinarquista* for May 23, 1942, as "Catholic faith, Spanish traditions, home, village, hierarchy, Christian political order, common good."

The name comes from the Greek and means "With Order." The leaders call this order new, but it is really a very old system that they are working to restore.

SINARQUISMO AND THE REVOLUTION

Mexico's Revolution, which began in 1910, attempted to abolish domestic feudalism and foreign imperialism. In its thirty-two-year struggle it has gone a long way toward achieving both, and the term "Revolution" has become synonymous with "government." During this period governments have distributed more than 60,000,000 acres of land to the peasants, set up banks to finance its cultivation, formed and financed workers' cooperatives, organized labor unions, adopted minimum-wage and social-security laws, expropriated the rebellious foreign oil companies, established thousands of rural schools and dozens of technological schools, and guaranteed civil liberties, including freedom of worship. The Revolution is the greatest emancipating movement in the Americas. It is wholly dedicated to the welfare of the common man—the very Indian peasants whom the Sinarquistas are leading on a crusade to destroy this work.

The aim of the new crusade is to liquidate the Revolution and inaugurate the counter-revolution and its corporate state. In its issue of May 23, 1942, *El Sinarquista* printed this threat: "The Revolution has attempted to reform Mexico, but it has only deformed Mexico. . . . Sinarquismo is aggressively anti-Revolutionary." At about the same time the organization published a manifesto which said: "'Sinarquismo considers that the Mexican Revolution is a process of vicious disintegration which began with our independence movement [against Spain] and has culminated in the Communist program of recent years. . . . Sinarquismo, which is only an instrument in the struggle of the new generations, proclaims that it will destroy the Revolution and restore the Christian order which the Revolution annihilated."

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THE CHURCH IS SPLIT

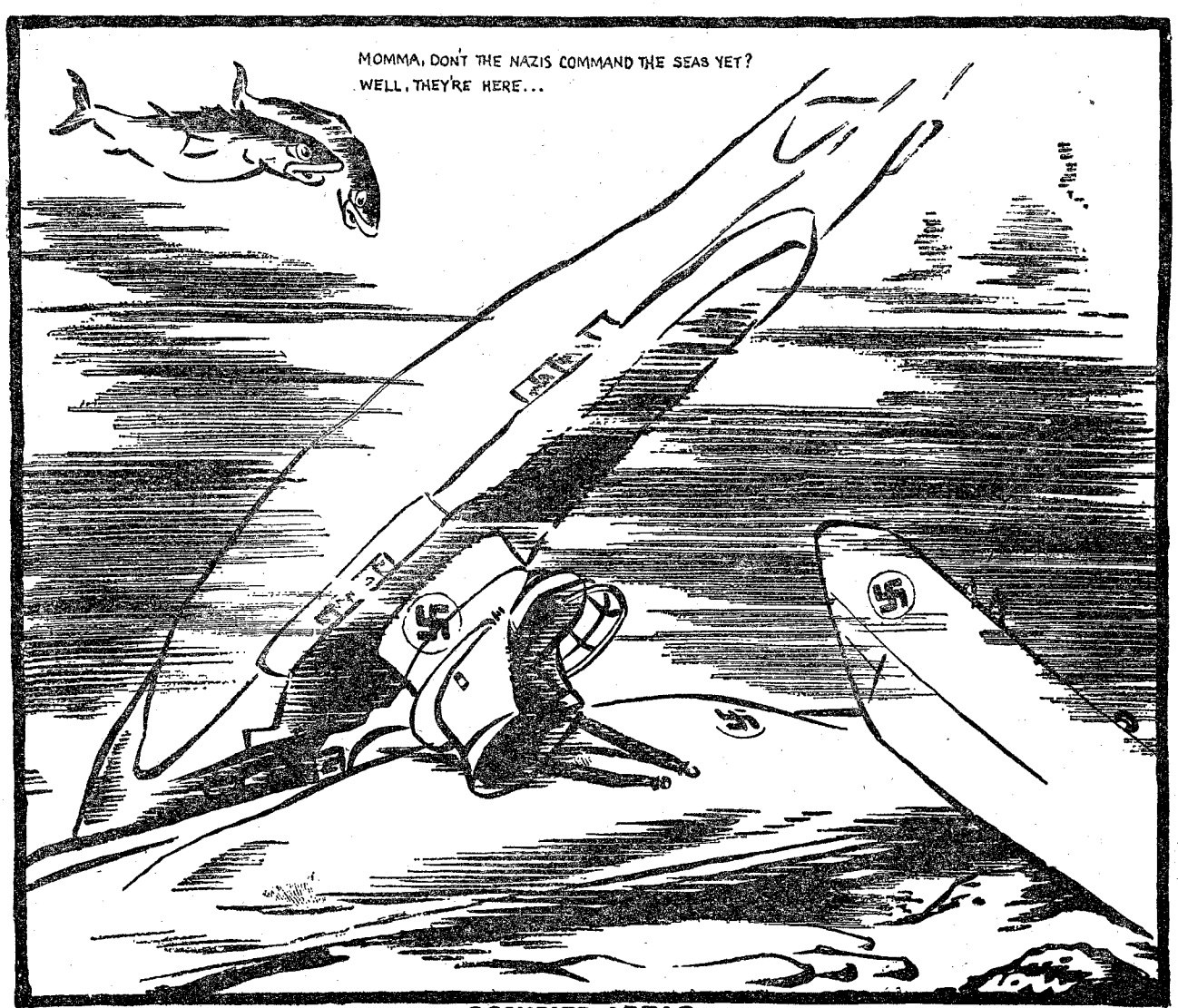
The Sinarquistas insist that no member of the clergy can join their movement, that they have no connection with the church. Yet their slogans are "Faith and Country"; they will establish a "new Christian order." If they have no connection with the church, then they are asking us to believe in another virgin birth. Commenting upon the movement's exploitation of religion, the government newspaper *El Nacional* declared: "It is evident that the use of religious beliefs for the purpose of power politics and agitation is an abuse of the innocence and good faith of the believers, a prostitution of the true religious spirit, and a deliberate outrage against the most backward classes of the nation."

Mexico's liberal archbishop, Luis M. Martínez, has repeatedly denied that his church has any connection with the Sinarquistas. Indirectly he has tried to undermine their influence by twice calling on Mexican Catholics to support the government and the war "even against their consciences." Despite the Archbishop's instructions, "some members of the clergy" have been publicly accused by liberal spokesmen, government and labor newspapers, and government officials of "pro-Axis activities." The existing schism was first revealed in the spring of 1940 when Senator José Maria Davila, speaking over a national radio hook-up, said: "At present the Mexican clergy is divided into two groups: one is orthodox and conservative; the other, unfortunately small, is mildly Revolutionary . . . [and] works with the government. The Archbishop works with the latter group, and we Revolutionaries sympathize with him. Because of his attitude, some of the high clergy condemn the Archbishop as a liberal."

It is clear that there is an open split in the Catholic church in Mexico, just as there was in pre-war Europe. A parallel can be found in the United States in the difference between such liberals as the late Cardinal Mundelein and Father Coughlin.

SINARQUISMO CROSSES THE BORDER

At first Mexican citizenship was a requirement for membership in Sinarquismo, but after a few months this was changed to Mexican descent. It was changed so that the movement could infiltrate into Mexican communities in the United States. The process began with the establishment of the Southern California Regional Committee at Los Angeles on November 1, 1937. A year



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later a Regional Committee was organized at El Paso.

Today the Sinarquistas are registered with the Department of Justice as alien agents. The Los Angeles Regional Committee states in its registration that it has branches at Pacoima, San Fernando, San Bernardino, La Verne, Ontario, Watts, El Monte, Oxnard, Pomona, and Azusa. The El Paso group has registered cells at McAllen, Mission, and Laredo. Other cells are found in New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Indiana. The total membership in the United States is given as only 2,000, but *El Sinarquista* has reported that the movement is growing rapidly. Alfonso Felix Diaz Escobar, a member of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, has estimated that it has 50,000 adherents in the Los Angeles district alone, but this figure is considered too high in informed circles.

It should be enlightening to loyal Catholics here to read the Sinarquistas' own pronouncements on the subject of the United States and democracy. In May, 1941, they declared that their foreign policy was against pan-American solidarity and cooperation with the United States, against the atheism of the Soviet Union and the paganism of Nazi Germany, but for the socialistic programs of both these states. Its object, they said, was to create a bloc of Latin American nations to oppose the United States and follow Franco Spain. This frankness had such repercussions that the Sinarquista leaders began to hedge a bit, but on May 23, 1942, they reprinted a statement of policy which had appeared often before in the pages of *El Sinarquista.* It ran: "Sinarquismo struggles for the restoration of the Christian social order. *Liberal democracy,* as well as fascism and communism, *is contrary to this order*" (italics mine).

The current propaganda line is that "Sinarquismo is loyally endeavoring to cooperate with the attitude and point of view of the United States," but the document mentioned above, which was signed by all the members of the Mexican Congress, refutes this.

"WE SUPPORT THE WAR BUT . . ."

President Avila Camacho ended his declaration of war upon the Axis with the appeal, "Mexico expects every one of her sons to do his duty." The Sinarquistas answered with the statement, "We accept the President's decision with the respect it deserves. . . . [But] Sinarquismo warns that its adherence to the decisions made by the government will not stop it from fighting the Bolsheviks, who now more than ever are the gravest danger to the nation." (All labor and liberal government officials are called "Bolsheviks" by the Sinarquistas.) Manuel Torres Bueno, the organization's "Supreme Chief," wrote blandly in *El Sinarquista,* "The state of war may precipitate a civil war." Anti-war, anti-government, anti-United States propaganda is given out at Sinarquista meetings. Armed bands of Sinarquistas shot up conscripts training in two villages in Zacatecas.

A representative of the Anti-Nazi, Anti-Fascist Committee who attended a meeting held at Tepic, Nayarit, in January of this year testified in a signed report that membership in the local Sinarquista organization was increasing and that the leaders were the same men who directed the Cristero revolt. He summed up the party line thus: (1) other states are already up in arms; (2) military instruction is being given Mexicans only so that the United States can use them as cannon fodder; (3) Germany, Italy, and Japan never injured Mexico but the gringos have always been enemies; (4) President Avila Camacho and Minister of Defense Cárdenas have sold out Mexico to the United States; (5) reports of the democracies' victories are lies, and the United States and England have already lost the war; (6) the sinking of the Mexican tankers which brought the country into war was done by the Yankees, not the Nazis; (7) all Sinarquistas should produce only enough food for their families, nothing for sale, as the gringos would get it and this would be treason to the country; (8) Sinarquistas are infiltrating into government offices in preparation for overthrowing the Avila Camacho regime.

A report of a meeting held in the same month at the village of San José, near El Paso, Texas, shows how closely integrated is their propaganda in the United States and Mexico. The San José Sinarquistas were told that Mexican farmers sent by their government to this country to relieve our labor shortage would be conscripted by the Yankees and used as cannon fodder; that the Sinarquistas have a "mission" to stop this; that Mexico owes nothing to the United States, which has always robbed it; and that the obligatory military service must be opposed by Sinarquistas. At a subsequent meeting this group was told to "combat the Yankee fifth column" but was warned that supervision of their movement in the United States had been transferred from the State Department to the FBI and all must be on their guard.

In cooperation with the Acción Nacional and the Partido Autonomista Mexicana, both blatantly *Franquista* groups, the Sinarquistas are responsible for the anti-"gringo" sentiment which is reaching the danger point in Mexico today.

THE GOALS OF SINARQUISMO

"On Your Guard, Mr. President" was the warning given by Senator David Ayala in the spring of 1942. "Surely," he wrote, "we don't suppose that the Sinarquista organization, which now has newspapers, hierarchic chiefs, and organized masses, has a divine objective. . . . This organization is human, with essentially political ends, and it is attempting to get hidden control of the Mexican government. There is in all this a similarity to the beginning of the totalitarian governments in Germany and Italy. . . . The Sinarquistas are in fact a fifth column, already so powerful that their presence

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is visible; they flaunt in public their increasing strength, and in a short time will make demands on you. Later, throughout the country, they will resort to unified action which will be difficult to suppress *because Sinarquismo is undermining the Revolution at its roots . . .*" (italics mine).

The sixteen-point program of the Sinarquistas issued in February, 1942, and reprinted in the Brooklyn *Tablet* of May 8, 1943, is a blueprint for this undermining process. Sinarquism seeks "the restoration in Mexico of the Christian social order. . . . No nation shall accept a social program contrary to its historical traditions. . . . Sinarquism is a social movement among the masses. . . . in accord with the cultural and religious traditions of Mexico." Such traditions are identified in all Sinarquista propaganda as Spanish, never as Indian, and all the great liberal heroes who fought to free the Indian are smeared as traitors.

It is stated in the program that the movement approves of land division so that every peasant can be a small property holder but that it will "protect property" too. It has "undertaken the gigantic task of rehabilitating the national agriculture"; but it demands the dissolution of the agrarian reserves, formed by the Revolutionary governments to protect the farmers to whom land has been distributed, and places itself in competition with a government already administering that same "gigantic task." It will carry out a vast educational program "according to the aspirations, the faith, and the traditions of the Mexican people"; but it forced the appointment as Minister of Education of Octavio Vejar Vázquez, who is reversing the whole liberal educational program and who has said, "There can be no education in Mexico without the sign of the cross behind it." It "wishes to see formed true labor unions made up of workmen without leaders"; but it opposes existing labor unions and peasant leagues and demands that "the strikes destructive to our incipient industry be ended." Sinarquismo, in brief, would disarm the peasant and the worker of all weapons —agrarian reserves, leaders, and strikes—and place them at the mercy of the authoritarian state.

Franco's "spiritual reconquest" of Spain's lost colonies is already half won in Mexico. The Sinarquista movement today is much stronger and better organized than was the Cristero rebellion which drenched Mexico in blood in the twenties. But it has not even the excuse that led to the Cristero revolt—religious persecution. There has been no religious persecution in Mexico since 1936. The church is back in full power, convents and monasteries operate openly again, and religious buildings are being renovated for the first time since 1910. A program of appeasement has been adopted in order to remove all cause for a religious revolt. But this civilized policy is being exploited by the Sinarquistas to undermine the very government which gives them religious freedom. Under the guise of the democracy to which Mexico aspires the corporate state is building its "new order"—new only in name, old as feudalism in truth.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

AT THE RECENT graduation ceremonies of the University of Edinburgh seven women were "capped" for the degree of Master of Arts. The first woman to come up had taken her degree with first-class philosophical honors, and she received "an overwhelming ovation, . . . but all were greeted with loud and sympathetic applause by professors, students, and the general public."—*June 1, 1893.*

THE PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATURE has made Saturday afternoon a half-holiday in that state, as it already is in New York, and there are indications that the rule will become general within a few years.—*June 8, 1893.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: "Muldoon's Wrestling: A Complete Treatise."—*June 8, 1893.*

ACCORDING TO THE CATALOGUE of the German section of the Chicago Exhibition, nine-tenths of all the artificial coloring matter of the world is now produced in Germany.—*June 15, 1893.*

THE IMPIETY of opening the Chicago Fair on Sunday is to be punished. The Rev. Dr. McAnney of Tarrytown . . . recently declared that "the Lord knows how to close the doors of the fair on Sundays, and He will do it," and, as one of the "tough instruments" He might use for the purpose, suggested that He might "let the cholera spread its black wings over us this summer, and let 10,000,000 people die of this dread disease."—*June 22, 1893.*

A HARVARD STUDENT who had some Negro blood in his veins was recently refused attention in a Cambridge barber-shop, and the legislature promptly passed a law forbidding any barber in the state to make such a discrimination. —*June 22, 1893.*

IT IS SIMPLE TRUTH to say that the whole country was startled on Tuesday by the news that Governor Altgeld of Illinois had pardoned the three Chicago anarchists who were in the penitentiary for their participation in the riots of 1886. . . . Governor Altgeld's reasons for setting the verdict aside are even more astonishing than his action itself. . . . In fact, the document reads almost as if the Governor himself were an anarchist.—*June 29, 1893.*

"THE UNITED STATES, with an Excursion into Mexico: Handbook for Travellers." Edited by Karl Baedeker, Leipzig. New York: Scribner's. . . . The appearance of an American "Baedeker" marks an epoch in our history as supplying evidence that European tourists have become numerically of importance in this country.—*June 29, 1893.*

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The Coming Battle of Italy

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THERE is a story to the effect that when a group of young army officers stationed in Washington recently conducted a pool on the Allied invasion of Europe they selected no fewer than fifty-three places as the probable location for the opening of a second front.

However, speculation regarding the next step on land of the United Nations is not entirely guesswork. If the most important fruit of the African victory, the reopening of the Mediterranean, is to be fully enjoyed, Axis air bases in Sardinia, Sicily, Pantelleria, and conceivably even in southern Italy must be effectively neutralized. The logic of the present strategic situation thus demands an amphibious move against Italy either as the next step or as one of several related steps in the war against Germany.

Nor is pure reason likely to prove misleading. The air war in the Mediterranean is fundamentally different from that over Germany. The effort here is to wipe out opposing air and sea forces and destroy base facilities and fixed defenses rather than to concentrate mainly on industrial objectives. In Germany and along the Channel Coast Allied bombers are paving the way for the ultimate defeat of the Nazis on land; in the Mediterranean they are destroying the defenses of a power that is not regarded as too strong for direct land attack. If Spanish reports of large ship concentrations about Gibraltar are correct and Allied communiqués indicate accurately the damage done by their bombers, this attempt is likely to come at once.

The invasion of Italy will not be direct. Sicily in particular and probably Sardinia as well must be cleared of Axis forces before an all-out land assault would be strategically sound. The reduction of these islands will open the way for at least three further moves. Sicily leads only to southern Italy. To the north the capture of Corsica and the ultimate invasion of the Italian Riviera or southern France from the island bases are distinct possibilities. But Sardinia could as easily provide a starting-point for an attack on central Italy.

That collection of diverse units known as the Northwest African Air Force has already made great progress in paving the way for occupation of these islands. The repeated highly successful attacks by British and American planes, the low ratio of losses of the attackers and the heavy casualties of the defenders, the absence of effective anti-aircraft fire, all attest to a growing demoralization among the Italians. Even over southern Italy the Allied air forces are clearly predominant, though the fact that the Axis can obtain reinforcements quickly from the north makes it unlikely that our fliers will gain the overwhelming superiority they enjoyed in the last phases of the Tunisian campaign.

However, air superiority alone does not insure attackers against heavy losses, as the British found to their cost at Dieppe. Italian sea and sub-surface power, shore defenses, and minefields must be reckoned with. Of these the third is easily the most important. Superior Allied sea and air power and low Italian naval morale will probably prevent any attempt at a finish fight by the fairly strong sea forces still in Italian hands. The shore defenses can to a limited extent be "jumped over" by parachute troops, and in any case are not apt to be as strong as those of France and Germany. But minefields can be planted overnight by submarines, and only the work of minesweepers under naval and air protection can provide security. This necessity, in turn, would deprive an expedition of the advantage of surprise and permit the enemy to concentrate his available forces at the threatened spot, provided he moved with sufficient speed. Thorough scouting to detect minefields and perhaps feints at several points are the counter-measures indicated. In short, to establish beachheads in Sicily and Sardinia is a much more difficult problem than was our landing in North Africa but a far easier one than the invasion of Europe along the Channel.

The armies available for an Italian adventure are now larger than those at the disposal of Eisenhower a month ago. To the British First and Eighth armies there has probably been added the greater portion of the American Fifth Army, which should no longer be needed for garrison duty in Morocco. At least ten divisions of French troops have likewise been reequipped and reorganized. To the thirty-five to forty divisions composing these armies other units would almost surely be added before an invasion attempt.

The least certain feature of an Italian campaign is the seriousness of the opposition to be expected. With heavy air and sea superiority we should, after establishing beach-heads, be able to get troops into the Mediterranean islands with greater speed and freedom from loss than the Axis. Stiffer resistance can be expected in Italy proper, where land communications are considerably more reliable. The defenders will quite probably have superiority in numbers, but in equipment, experience, morale, and air power we should have a definite margin

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over them. The great question is the amount of strength which Hitler may choose to devote to rescuing his ally. With a growing Allied army in England capable of striking across the Channel, he cannot afford to weaken his forces greatly in the enormously vital areas of the French and Dutch coasts. Nor can he safely recall many divisions from the Russian front or even the Balkans. However, if the Germans choose to risk disaster in the east and southeast they can probably put into Italy more divisions than the United Nations will have at their disposal. Whether these will be as well equipped and of as good quality as ours is now very doubtful. Certainly they cannot expect to match us in the air.

Perhaps the best method of weighing the probability of an Italian campaign is to consider its possible consequences. In case of success, Allied air bases would be brought within closer range of virtually all the strong points in Hitler's fortress which are at present too far away to be bombed economically from England. In addition, the conquest of Italy would place a further strain upon Axis man-power. The Italian divisions in the Balkans and Russia, however slight their combat value, do free a certain number of German units for other work.

Balancing these clear-cut advantages are certain other considerations. Italy has been more of an economic liability than an asset to Hitler, and its occupation is not likely to prove an unmixed blessing to the United Nations. Its civilian industry needs large quantities of coal and iron and some oil, and if our North African policy of feeding destitute populations is to be maintained, its 47,000,000 people will constitute a drain on our food reserves. The necessity for garrisons will likewise impose a drain on our man-power.

A greater drawback is the fact that even a highly successful invasion would be inconclusive. For the Italian peninsula, which presents few serious obstacles of terrain to an invader marching up from the south, terminates in one of the most effective natural barriers to be found anywhere in the world. Germany could hold the Alpine passes with a small fraction of the number of men that would be needed to break through them. Thus an Italian campaign, valuable in its contribution to ultimate victory, is a strategic blind alley so far as getting directly at Germany is concerned.

There are, to be sure, certain alternative moves to an attempt to penetrate Germany from the south. One is the invasion of southern France by way of Corsica or the narrow strip of shore along the Italian and French Riviera. Another possibility is the use of Italian bases for an attack on Yugoslavia. Either move would contribute to German defeat, though neither would strike the Axis where blows are immediately fatal.

With greater success over submarines, ever-increasing aerial and naval dominance, and growing strength on land, the Allies are clearly winning the war. Only enormous and highly unlikely success in the Battle of the Atlantic or on the eastern front can save Germany from defeat, and even this would not rescue it from terrible aerial punishment. But the tide of war, now running heavily in our favor, has not yet reached the flood stage. The invasion of Italy means one more year of attrition without bringing the war to an end. Barring the unexpected, we shall not gain a final European victory before 1944.

In the Wind

COMMUTATION of the death sentence of Max Stephan, Detroit restaurant keeper convicted of aiding an escaped German prisoner in an attempt to return to Germany, is recommended by a group of prominent citizens on the ground that it "cheapens the high crime of treason" and should be "reserved for serious war-time offenses involving direct aid to the enemies of the United States with the intent of promoting their success."

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE of the United States no longer openly objects to progressive measures. It merely asks questions. Its current bulletin, commenting on proposals for an international food program and international currency stabilization, asks, "Will an undue burden be imposed on American taxpayers? Will the various government enterprises tend to restrict opportunities for private capital and initiative and to promote totalitarianism?"

DELETION of those anti-Semitic footnotes from pocket-size New Testaments issued to Catholic soldiers in the United States army constitutes an attack on freedom of religion, according to *The Cross and the Flag*, organ of Gerald L. K. Smith's America First party. "If the time has come when we must change the Bible to satisfy the Jews who think it's anti-Semitic," it says, "then it's time for the Jews to produce some far-seeing statesmen who will put an end to such foolishness."

STEP RIGHT UP: "The University of California," says its president, Robert Gordon Sproul, "is no longer an academic main tent with military sideshows. It is a military main tent with academic sideshows."

FESTUNG EUROPA: It is now legal to use cattle to draw vehicles in the streets of Paris, if you can find the cattle. . . . The Nazi youth service recently tried to organize a branch in Lillehammer, Norway, but the children refused to sing any song except their national anthem. There is no Lillehammer branch. . . . A Dutch Nazi S. S. officer recently stated the official attitude in a broadcast: "Even if 90 per cent of our present population think we should not win the war . . . we shall say, 'It is we who are right and the 90 per cent who are wrong.' "

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Why Did Stalin Do It?

[*As was to be expected, the dissolution of the Comintern continues to be passionately discussed—by the right and by the left. In order to present our readers with a thorough analysis of the subject, we have asked persons with widely divergent points of view to state their conclusions for us. Last week we published an account of the British reaction by Kingsley Martin, editor of the* New Statesman and Nation. *Other commentaries are printed below. In addition to these we have asked various labor leaders for expressions of their opinions, which we hope to print in a later issue. My own view was presented in a brief editorial, The Great Hour, two weeks ago. I continue to see in the dissolution of the Comintern an excellent counter-Axis blow and a unique opportunity for labor and progressive forces to unite and to win.*—A. DEL V.]

A New United Front

BY RALPH BATES

Formerly an official of the National Union of Railwaymen in England and later an officer in the International Brigade during the Spanish War

LONG before the dissolution of the Communist International, the course of the war had convinced me that there was no practicable socialist alternative to combined action by all groups to the left of center. The decision taken by the Presidium of the Comintern, however, offers fresh arguments in favor of the United Front. I shall deal chiefly with these new considerations, restating only the central argument of the general case.

That argument assumes two things: that a new society can be built only by the working class and its allied groups, and that no single party in Europe or America can reasonably hope to win exclusive control over working-class action within the time limit likely to be set. If these assumptions are correct, there is but one course open—to form a new United Front.

We have, of course, not the slightest guaranty that a United Front will achieve victory. But in calculating the striking power or the educational efficiency of a United Front, one cannot use simple addition. When the Second and Third Internationals fought to the death for the allegiance of, say, any hundred possible supporters, each group won not fifty, but twenty-five. The remaining fifty were disgusted by the spectacle of everlasting feuds and withdrew from politics. Eventually many of them voted for fascism. Similarly, when the two tendencies, originally represented by the two Internationals, grew together and formed the French and Spanish popular fronts, their combined strength was not the mere sum of their separate forces. They also won a great part of the inert mass. In time they might have won all if the British opposition to Chamberlainism had also created a popular front. Nearly everyone who is now against the United Front at one time agreed with this assertion.

Naturally, a new front will have to avoid the mistakes of the old. One of its principal errors may easily be avoided now that the Comintern, with creditable candor, has declared its methods to be out of date. Léon Blum's greatest mistake, I am convinced, lay in not compelling the French Communist Party to enter his government. Whether or not the French party wished to share office I do not know. But I know the situation that existed in Spain. The Spanish Communist Party did wish to be represented in the government, and the Comintern, at first, forbade it. Only the absolute refusal of Largo Caballero to form a government without Communist participation eventually forced a change of decision. Those who know the behind-the-scenes political life of the Spanish Republic will agree with me that Spain's magnificent resistance to Franco was largely made possible by this original firmness on the part of Caballero.

The dissolution of the Communist International has eased another difficulty. It has always been objected that because of disciplinary ties the Communists obeyed Moscow implicitly, even against their native judgment. This objection continues to be raised in two forms. Some insist that the Comintern has not been abolished. Others declare that the American and British Communists, even though freed from Comintern control, will continue to use the Russian "yardstick" in devising their line. Of course they will. There is no reason why they should not, or why that should create difficulties.

The British Communist Party used a Russian "yardstick" in drawing up its inspiring resolution of September 3, 1939, in support of the war. The Russian "yardstick" prompted the simple and sound argument advanced by Harry Pollitt that if the workers listened to "revolutionary-sounding phrases" and opposed the war, the democratic capitalist powers might be defeated and the U. S. S. R. be left alone to face the onslaught of Hitler's Reich. On October 6, however, the Communist Party of Great Britain changed the line. The Comintern's instructions had been received. But so strong was the native opinion that the man who reopened the debate

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was forced to rely upon the irresistible plea of loyalty to the International. The alternative to submission was not merely expulsion from the Comintern but the inevitable splitting of the Communist Party of Great Britain. What is more important is that, having reasoned out their position according to Harry Pollitt's original argument, the British Communists were able to preserve in full force their anti-fascist convictions. I do not say this in order to revive old controversies, but to support a vitally important contention relevant to the United Front proposal. The British Communists' original position that, bad as the British system was, it was far better than Nazism, was sincere. They are therefore a vital force, to be valued as allies. And the abolition of the Comintern, in permitting the Communists to stand by their own analyses, will again make them reliable companions in action. This is the new perspective opened by the Presidium's decision.

Russia and the Peace

BY LOUIS FISCHER

Author of "Men and Politics," "The Soviets in World Affairs," and "A Week with Gandhi" and for fifteen years The Nation's *correspondent in Moscow*

IS THE end of the Comintern a sign that Russia wants to discard its isolationism and cooperate with certain foreign powers? I think it is.

Stalin has been ready to cooperate with us to the extent of unloading the ships that bring him lend-lease material. If his cooperation goes much farther, I have yet to hear of it. One can, in an appeal to war-time emotions, flamboyantly declaim about the Red Army's heroic struggle against Hitler. I yield to none in my admiration of the Soviet armed forces, for I learned to love that gallant generation during fourteen years' residence among them. But the Russians are fighting because they were attacked, not to cooperate with us. If Stalin had wished to cooperate he might have started fighting earlier. Instead, he sold goods to Hitler and told the French, British, and American Communist parties to obstruct the anti-Axis war effort.

Today, however, Stalin needs more help and should get it. It is the policy of the American and British governments to give him as much as possible. That is the only sensible policy, for the Red Army has killed, wounded, and captured millions of Germans who otherwise would be fighting us. If the end of the Comintern dissipates suspicions which have inhibited all-out aid to Russia I shall be glad.

Stalin's suicide order to the Comintern also seems to indicate his desire to cooperate in the post-war settlement. But there can be several kinds of post-war settlement. I believe profoundly that the end of the Comintern is one symptom of a powerful trend inside Russia which could ruin the peace. It is a trend away from internationalism toward narrow nationalism and pan-Slav expansionism. The liquidation of the Comintern may reflect Russia's hope of establishing a concert of two or more great powers to dominate Europe.

What are the signs? No word in favor of collective security has come out of Russia for years. Maxim Litvinov, veteran champion of collective security, has been silenced by his masters. Russia has given no indication since this war started that it is thinking of the peace in terms of international organization. One will search in vain for declarations by Soviet statesmen paralleling those in which Vice-President Wallace or Willkie or Sumner Welles or Anthony Eden or Chiang Kai-shek has advocated anti-imperialism, world federation, freer world trade, a world court, or internationalism. Instead, Russia has demanded Baltic, Polish, and Balkan territory and stressed the potential role of the Anglo-Russian alliance in making the peace.

Once, the Soviet Union was the synonym of internationalism and collective security. But governments sometimes change their policies. Moscow may have abandoned the policy of collective security because the powers refused collectively to save Ethiopia, China, Spain, and Czechoslovakia. Other factors also have stimulated Stalin's efforts in the last nine years to develop a strong domestic Russian nationalism.

Beginning in 1935, and since then in mounting crescendo, the czarist past of Russia, which all good Soviet citizens hated, has been resurrected and refurbished. Czar Ivan, known as "the Terrible" even during the czarist regime, has become Ivan the Fourth, and Sergei Eisenstein, who produced "Potemkin," a film about the 1905 revolution, and "October," about the 1917 revolution, is working on a picture to glorify Ivan. Peter the Great, cruel serf-driver, is another new Soviet hero. The Soviet Union always had links with Russia's past: they were Herzen, Belinsky, the Decembrists, and other revolutionists. Now the links are czars, princes, generals, and medieval knights. America's nationalism harks back to Washington, who fought for the colonies' independence, Jefferson, who preached democracy, and Lincoln, the emancipator. Stalin's Russian nationalism acclaims autocrats and oppressors. The Soviet press, which I see, nowadays emphasizes Slav "blood brothers," "war of the fatherland," and "soil." The American and other Communist parties have been devoting much energy to winning the sympathies of Slav communities. In Lenin's time all this would have been inconceivable. It is anti-Bolshevik and reactionary.

These phenomena are the source of Russia's new-found interest in Polish, Finnish, Baltic, and Balkan lands. What protection could Russia get, in the next war, from an additional hundred miles of territory, when airplanes will be flying a hundred miles in eight minutes? Territorial appetites, narrow nationalism, and power politics

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Drawing by R. Lozano
Courtesy of *Futuro* (Mexico)

On Guard

are stupid in the air age. Yet they are Stalin's policy.

This bodes ill for the post-war settlement. A vigorous American peace-internationalism might help counteract the Muscovite tendency. Without such influence, the present war may be lost in the peace. Since this is my fear, silence would be criminal.

Unless foreign Communists realize that Russia has grown nationalist and expansionist they will continue to allow their opinions and acts to be shaped by Moscow even though the Comintern's central office has been closed. The Comintern's dissolution, however, may ultimately open their eyes and liberate them from their ideological slavery to the Kremlin, where communism and idealism have ceased to dwell.

Stalin's Bargain

BY XXX

A noted economist from Central Europe whose identity cannot be divulged because of the work in which he is engaged

THE dissolution of the Comintern raises three questions: (1) Why was it dissolved? (2) Was the move a bluff? and (3) What are the immediate results? The Comintern was dissolved because Stalin considered the move politically advantageous—and just now political strategy is as important as military strategy. The Soviet Union today, in the early summer of 1943, is still locked in a life-and-death struggle with Nazi Germany. It is of the utmost importance to the Soviets that the war be won as quickly as possible. They have been at war barely half a year longer than the United States, but their losses, some 7,000,000 men, are about 100 times as large as those of the United States. Stalin was afraid the Soviet Union would continue to bear most of the weight of the war in 1943. Only by a full-scale invasion of the continent of Europe can England and America do their full share of the fighting. Stalin was therefore willing to remove all political obstacles to a second front.

By the dissolution of the Comintern Stalin has answered the big question in the minds of conservative elements in England, America, and the Nazi-occupied countries: If a second front is established, if it is supported by the people of the occupied countries (including Italy!), will the defeat of the Nazis be followed by Communist revolutions?

Soviet Russia, it seems to me, is interested first of all in hastening the military victory, and after that in rebuilding European Russia. It is definitely not interested in revolutionary movements now, nor will it be in the years after the war, when it will be trying to reconstruct its devastated territory. Stalin will want a considerable part of Germany's productive machinery for use in rebuilding Russian industries; he will also want help from England and America, not only in the form of food and other immediate necessities, but in the form of raw materials and machinery. For all these things—for hastening the victory and for help in the reconstruction of his country—Stalin is willing to pay a price. Part of the price will be paid after Hitler is defeated, in the form of air bases from which we can bomb Japan; part is being paid now in the dissolution of the Comintern, by which Russia renounces any direct Communist intervention in the political reconstruction of Western and Central Europe.

If this analysis of Russia's motives is correct, it answers the further question, Is the dissolution of the Comintern merely verbal, a bluff, or does it have the substance of reality? I do not think it is a bluff. Neither now when Russia is fighting for its life nor in the future when it must be rebuilt can Stalin afford to bluff. I believe the Comintern is really dead.

It is of course not possible at present to foresee all the consequences of the dissolution, but one is clear beyond a doubt. Those who are working for unity in labor, liberal, and intellectual organizations will have their hands strengthened, and cooperation among the progressive elements in every country will be facilitated. This is important for America and for Europe, particularly for Germany. After the destruction of the German military machine and the Nazi Party organization, the way will be open, though under the most difficult conditions, for a progressive Socialist movement. And if there is then no Comintern—if, that is, there is no German party whose policy is determined by developments in Russia—the fight of the progressive Socialists will have a much better chance of success

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This Is No Maneuver!

BY PAUL HAGEN

German Socialist, Research Director of American Friends of German Freedom, and author of "Will Germany Crack?"

IN ITS declaration disbanding the Communist International the Presidium made use of the example of "the great Marx," who also dissolved an outgrown International. The analogy is fairly close. The First International, after being transferred to the United States, lost all contacts in Europe. The English branch broke away; the French, destroyed in the slaughter of the Commune in 1871, was not rebuilt; in Germany, Bismarck was preparing to outlaw the young and weak movement; in Switzerland, in Italy, and in Spain Bakuninism had infected the branches. And no progress at all was being made in the United States. It was only years later, after the death of Marx, that his partner Engels occasionally gave a retrospective interpretation of the liquidation of 1876 as simply the abandonment of an outgrown form. Identifying its step with Marx's action, the Presidium makes it clear that the liquidation of the Third International is a genuine liquidation like that of the First.

This time too the step had been in the making for a long time, ever since the Comintern became an appendix to its founders, the Russians. Russian confidence in it passed away with their own illusions of an imminent world revolution. The Presidium's reference to the "growth and maturity of the Communist parties," which, it said, make this dissolution easier, is mere window-dressing, or at least another pious self-deception. Only one party in the Comintern has grown and matured, and in the grown-up organization one would not recognize the child one knew. An entirely new national and international policy is followed. Soviet patriotism and not Lenin's internationalism prevails in this party of the new generation of Soviet intelligentsia, a party for which the Comintern must have been more a liability than an asset. There may have been underlying reasons for liquidating it just now—Washington, perhaps, or the Vatican. But they were accidental. They determined only the date. The outcome was certain in this contest between the United States government and lease-lend on one side and Mr. Browder on the other. As it was also between Churchill and Pollitt. And in a body like the Comintern there could be just now no possibility of a reconciliation between, say, a German section and a Polish. The statement of the Presidium puts that frankly: "The war has placed a deep dividing line." Long before the war it had become obvious, the statement continues, that with increasing international complications "any sort of international center would encounter insuperable obstacles in solving the problems facing the movement in each separate country." Those suspecting a temporary maneuver are wrong. There will not even be a new Russian alliance with a German revolution after Hitler's defeat. After this war Moscow will certainly not grant the Germans what it still considers a nation's best weapon, a strong Communist Party.

What will follow? First, the "freed" Communist parties in Allied countries will be immediately weakened; they will pay any price to become respectable, but their offers will be rejected. Take as an indication Mr. Browder's correspondence with the New York *Times* two days after the decree. He says he is ready to discuss the dissolution of the American Communist Party and even "the question of suspension of the right of free political association" ("strongly opposing the proposal," to be sure, but "ready to submit to the responsible decisions that regulate our national life for the war"). To this "curious offer" the *Times* answers, Your party is the chief obstacle to complete American-Russian understanding; please disappear. Apart from Mr. Browder's clumsiness and the attitude of the *Times*, the offer will be the same all over the world, and so will be the echo.

But, as in the past, progressives can find hope too in the picture: genuine democratic and radical movements, encouraged by the liquidation of an outgrown movement petrified into a totalitarian sect, will be strengthened by the accession of many honest and courageous Communists, particularly from the underground movements, now released from their allegiance to Moscow. The competition which characterized the recent prolonged split will gradually disappear. The factionalism developed in the past twenty-five years cannot, of course, be eradicated overnight. It will take time. But the first step has been taken. And not only will this step improve official relations between Russia and the United Nations; it will also lay the groundwork for new relations between Russia and both the coming democratic revolutions in Axis countries and the democratic movements in Allied countries. In this sense the Presidium's historical analogy is true. The new rallying point, however, will not be a revived Comintern.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

DETAILS are still lacking about conditions in the bombed regions in Germany. But the Essen *Nationalzeitung* of May 18 gives us one bit of news. An announcement carried by the paper on that day said that the city water was no longer drinkable, that it must be boiled before it was used. No explanation was given. One can only assume that the aerating and filter plants of the Essen water system, which serves a region containing at least 750,000 inhabitants, have been destroyed.

On May 21 the same newspaper revealed another fact. Of Essen's 200 school buildings 179 have either been

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destroyed, or are being used as emergency dwellings by persons bombed out of their homes, or are occupied by bombed-out offices. Radical measures have been taken to continue school instruction. All the primary schools of the city with their pupils and teachers are being moved to other provinces, as are also the four lower classes of the secondary schools. Accommodations are being provided for them in camps. It appears to rest with the parents whether their children shall be moved with the school which they attend. Many parents seem determined not to be separated from their children, and to these obstinate citizens the newspaper addressed urgent warnings, asking them what they thought would become of children who grew up without schooling, like savages, in the devastated city.

To the Very Last Consequence is the title of an article in the May number of the *Bewegung*, the official Nazi student magazine. This issue of the magazine was eagerly awaited because of the disturbances at the University of Munich described in this column last week, and it does in fact give some important hints about the background of the Munich revolt and executions. In veiled phrases the article makes it clear that the Nazis are dissatisfied with the spirit in many universities, not simply with that revealed at Munich. It begins:

> Not everything that the soldiers observe at German universities corresponds to what they imagined while they were passing hard days at the front. We all know the type of student that gives a university a bad name, those strange outsiders who allege their preoccupation with scientific studies when called upon to do useful work. They are the ones who started the wild rumors that circulated at the end of the winter term; they always knew which universities would be closed and which sections would be "totally mobilized." Is it astonishing that such characters, disliking the honest effort and clean living of German students, have in some extreme cases instigated excesses?

This was followed by a passage which shows very plainly to what lengths the student opposition in Munich —and apparently in other universities also—must have gone. A propaganda advising the people to practice passive resistance and the workers to engage in sabotage must have been discovered:

> Those irresponsible elements who in times like these summon the German people to passive resistance and ask German workers to commit sabotage in factories and to produce unserviceable weapons will be exterminated in the name of the German people now struggling for their existence. Fortunately, such crimes are not protected by a student's card of admission to the university.

As usual—and perhaps with justification—the newspaper warned against too inclusive generalizations. "Certainly from these physically and mentally decadent outcasts no conclusions can be drawn about the entire student corps." But then it revealed—and this is the first report of the event to reach a foreign country—that in the last few weeks a comprehensive "purge" of university students has been inaugurated.

> Committees of rectors, deans, and student leaders have not been idle during the Easter vacation; they have been making thoroughgoing inquiries concerning every student. If the new term shows that some strange characters have disappeared, it is because they were among those who were weighed and found wanting. Nobody need fear being condemned unjustly; but on the other hand nobody must think that the knowledge he has already accumulated will assure him the opportunity of continuing his studies. A clear political attitude, unreserved and absolute loyalty to state and party, is the prerequisite for attendance at German universities. He who is unworthy will fall a victim to the hard laws of war.

It should be recalled that since Hitler the German universities have accepted only students whose fitness was properly attested by the party. The mere fact that a person was a student implied that when he began his course he had been certified as politically "safe." Not a few who two or three years ago were "safe" have in the meantime, as we see, become "unsafe."

Verboten!

THE Nazi occupation authorities in France have just issued a new black list banning the sale of certain books:

1. All English works. (Shakespeare, Byron, Shelley, and several other classics, however, may still be offered for sale.)

2. Books by Jewish authors, and biographies of Jews. (For example, the biographies of Giacomo Meyerbeer, Jacques Offenbach, Henri Bergson, and Sarah Bernhardt are banned.)

3. All books on Germany, Pan-Germanism, Prussianism, Nazism, etc.

4. The French translation of "Mein Kampf" is also included in the Nazi "Index," apparently out of fear that the French people may learn the aims of Hitler, so carefully concealed by the Déats, the Doriots, the Maurras, and the Lavals. Books by such well-known collaborationists as Suarez are on the black list if they were written before their authors entered the service of the Third Reich.

5. Finally, the works of Malraux, Remarque, Benda, and Thomas Mann, and the novels of Jules Verne, who is considered a dangerous Anglophile.

At the end of the Index are a number of technical studies by Jewish scientists on which judgment is "reserved." The Nazis evidently feel that they may be able to learn some technical tricks from "non-Aryans."

The underground paper *l'Université libre* offers its readers the following advice with regard to the Nazi black list: "It is the duty of every French intellectual to obtain a copy of the Index, to use every means of obtaining the banned books, to discover for himself the ideas which caused them to be blacklisted, and then to disseminate those ideas as widely as possible."

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Fighting France

THE FIGHTING FRENCH. By Raoul Aglion. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

RAOUL AGLION can speak of the Fighting French with authority. He was one of the first members of the French diplomatic service to rally to General de Gaulle, and he is now in New York on the staff of the French National Committee. He has written a concise and modest book; the ardent patriot in him is constantly held in check by the jurist. There is no lack of passion and drama in these pages, but they are revealed only through a sober recital of the facts.

American opinion was stunned by the sudden collapse of France. To the present day there are still good democrats on this side who believe that the downfall was due to *Front Populaire* incompetence, and not to a fossilized general staff; to parliamentary corruption, and not to the forty-year-old conspiracy of Maurras and his thugs, eager for a chance to "strangle the old whore," that is, the Republic; to the Socialists and Communists, and not to the men who openly professed "Rather Hitler than Blum!" I never admired the constitution of the Third Republic; but it had stood many crises—Panama, Boulanger, the Dreyfus case, the First World War. French democracy before 1939 was no more bewildered in its policy than England or ourselves. France was no more unready than we; it was only more exposed. We have no right to cast the first stone.

It was not "France" that gave up three years ago. For the French masses the war had barely begun. They would have been eager to fight on, in Brittany, in the intact fortresses of the Maginot Line, in North Africa. France was betrayed. Only one name could insure the success of that incredible conspiracy. Maurras and Laval, the twisted brains and the dirty hands that prepared the coup, would, by themselves, have been unable to carry it out. Pétain was a legend—the modern Bayard, the Knight without Fear and without Reproach, the hero of Verdun, the incarnation of invincible resistance: "They shall not pass!" Aglion shows that Mittelhauser in Syria, Boisson in West Africa, Noguès in Morocco reacted at the first moment like genuine patriots. They wanted to fight on. Pétain's prestige overwhelmed them. Once they had submitted, the road back to national honor was barred. As for the civilian masses and, in the army, the rank and file, they never had a chance to express a choice.

But the spirit of resistance was there. De Gaulle was the first volunteer; and other volunteers flocked to his improvised headquarters. Aglion relates extraordinary deeds of heroism: young boys from Brittany, for instance, drifted far into the Atlantic before they were picked up by a British steamer. In a way which is both diplomatic and equitable Aglion tells, in the same chapter, of Giraud's escape from Germany: Giraud too refused to submit and to collaborate; he too wanted France to remain free, and on the fighting line.

The book is crammed with dramatic episodes and striking personalities: Eboué, the colored governor of the Chad region, who made his choice from the very first and saved Equatorial Africa for France; Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu, a Carmelite monk, an authority on St. John of the Cross; General Philibert Collet, a French Lawrence of Arabia; Savet; Koenig, the hero of Bir Hacheim; Leclerc, who led the epic fight across the whole Sahara, first from Fort Lamy to Kufra, then to Ghadames and Tripoli; Catroux, Larminat, Legentilhomme, Auboyneau, Muselier—we cannot name them all. They have not allowed the flag of Valmy and of the Marne to remain in the mire.

There are substantial chapters on Resistance Inside France and the Underground Press. That home front, the most dangerous of all, was loose and sporadic at first. Gradually it became an organized movement. André Philip, as its delegate, went to London and recognized De Gaulle as its leader. The Fighting French are not a faction of émigrés; their chief power derives from the people of France.

Raoul Aglion is a diplomat and an official, not a free lance. He has no desire further to antagonize the State Department. He does not slam the door in the face of those misguided Frenchmen who, after hesitating somewhat too long, have at last broken, somewhat too cautiously, with the Vichy *Kommandantur*. He recalls the patriotic velleities of Noguès and Boisson; he finds it wiser not to mention Marcel Peyrouton at all; and he indulges in a bit of wishful thinking about the anti-fascist sentiments of the Bey of Tunis. But although he pulls a few punches, there is no lack of spirit in this fine little book. Reluctant as some may be to admit it, Fighting France is France—the France we love, and the France we need.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

The Noblest German of Them All

SOME POEMS OF FRIEDRICH HOELDERLIN. Translated by Frederick Prokosch. New Directions. 50 cents.

THE author of a number of the most magnificent lyric poems in German and of a fierce stigmatization of Germany, Friedrich Hoelderlin died, an old man, exactly one hundred years ago—after having lingered on earth, a peaceable lunatic, for almost forty years. Physicians who in recent times have examined reports of his malady call it dementia praecox; and with an eye on the poems of his brief period of ripeness, the psychoanalyst Jung has declared that Hoelderlin in childhood had enjoyed a bliss which he was unable to forget, and dream-pictures of it progressively had estranged him from a real life which he could not but find contrastingly coarse. Laymen in earlier decades used to ascribe his calamity to more external causes. Disappointments, misfortunes, humiliations, they thought, desolated his sensitive spirit. For all its romanticism, their conception is not entirely to be ignored.

A nursling of German idealism, the friend of Hegel and Schelling, he hymned the all-animating totality of nature; drunken with powerful sensations of it as with wine. He addressed its gods in elegiac odes and alcaics as Father Aether,

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as Sun and Earth; felt their presence in himself and their language in the secret, inborn melodies and rhythms of his soul. Probably no modern believed more single-heartedly in inspiration. And this divine poet certainly was a solitary among his fellow-countrymen. "Barbarians from of old" he called them; "become even more barbarous through industry and science, through religion itself, and incapable of any godlike feeling." Also he was seriously involved in a love affair which came to an abrupt and humiliating end, and suffered further mortification at the hands of his people's great literary representatives.

Hoelderlin had begun writing under the influence of Schiller's hymnic poems—the poems of his second period, known to us through the example the "Ode to Joy," which Beethoven incorporated in his Ninth Symphony. Schiller for a while interested himself in his young fellow-Suabian; helped him to a position as a private tutor; published the commencement of his novel "Hyperion" in one of his magazines. But Goethe's ascendancy over Schiller was increasing, and Goethe, who shrank from exalted temperaments, shrank from the intense Hoelderlin as later he did from Kleist and from Beethoven. Schiller grew icy. At Weimar Hoelderlin's inspired translations of Sophocles became subjects of mirth. The hymnist, in great material distress, once again appealed to Schiller. His letter remained without answer. During his madness, he refused to permit the names Goethe and Schiller to be mentioned in his presence.

Poetry as unfailingly deep in mood and musical as are his elegies and dithyrambs, as singularly sublime in pitch, rhythmically unified, and ethereal in phraseology, naturally kindled other enthusiasts. Among them was the young Nietzsche, who later also was to have something to say about Schiller and about Germany. Brahms gave one of the lyrics a majestic choral setting: "The Song of Destiny." Yet it was only in our century that, mainly through the solicitude of the circle about Stefan George, Hoelderlin's supreme position amid the authors of the German ode generally was recognized. What particularly attracted the circle was his realization of the Greek ideal of the Poet—the interlocutor of the gods; and pointing to "The Archipelago"—a nostalgic rhapsody conveying Hoelderlin's dream of a Hellas drunken with divinity—Gundolf called him a Greek born out of his era. The French translations of a few years since largely were dictated by this notion. Not so the even more recent English ones, the product of the surrealist poet David Gascoyne.

What directed Gascoyne to the subject was the surrealist fascination by insanity. During his illness Hoelderlin composed a few preternaturally stilly poems which he dated anachronistically and on occasions signed "Most submissively, by Scardanelli." Entitled "Hoelderlin's Madness," Gascoyne's volume included translations of these curious verses. The opuscule on the whole was unfortunate. It falsified the facts: included one poem, the famous "Song of Destiny," written before Hoelderlin gave indications of his coming collapse, and two others, "Half of Life" and "Patmos"—rapturous productions, strange indeed in their mixture of gigantic imagery and colorless statements—dating from the time when, after the first manifestation of his insanity, the poet seemed to be recovering. While poetic, the translations were fluid and soft, untrue to Hoelderlin's nobly pathetic style.

The Prokosch pamphlet, on the contrary, is to be saluted. Its exhibits, fifteen in all, which face their translations, represent a comprehensive perception of the man's genius. They include "To Nature," one of the best of his odes cast in the iambic strophes of Schiller's "Gods of Greece"; two of the irregularly rhythmic prodigies of his period of dissolution; and certain of the high-songs of his maturity—among them, the alcaics "Man," "In the Morning," and "Evening Fantasy." Something like a glow cast up from a mysterious world seems to meet the mind's eye through these pensive incantations. To be sure, the translation at times verges on doggerel. It is cold in spots. Where Hoelderlin sang, "My heart called the stars brethren; the spring, God's melody," we hear, "My heart . . . discerned its brothers in the burning/Planets, and the song of God in spring." In at least one other it is false. Where Hoelderlin wrote, "Once I lived like the gods, and no more is necessary," Prokosch says, "Once I lived like the gods, and desire now nothing." Admirably, none the less, it keeps the elevated pitch: this, in the circumstances, is of prime importance. And we want Hoelderlin for English readers: not only for the reason that he possessed a perfect sincerity equaled by no recent German poet, not by Rilke or by George. He is decidedly a most desirable prize and ally because of the dazzling purity with which the transcendental direction sustained itself in him. That direction is the finally noble one. In the transcendental lies the only commonwealth. There alone all men can meet. PAUL ROSENFELD

Russia Today and Tomorrow

MOSCOW DATELINE. By Henry C. Cassidy. Houghton Mifflin and Company. $3.

HENRY CASSIDY is an experienced war correspondent. Before he went to Moscow he covered the Spanish civil war on the Republican side, the *Sitzkrieg,* and the German *Blitzkrieg* in France in 1939 and 1940. After watching Paris fall and following the development of Vichy, he went to Berlin on a troop train and thence by train to Moscow. For more than a year Cassidy, like the ten or twelve other Anglo-American correspondents in Moscow, stumbled through the confused period when Germany and Russia were bound by a pact of friendship and making intensive preparations for war. Cassidy succeeded better than most in understanding what the Russians were trying to do.

When the war broke out, things became coldly clear. Cassidy had accumulated a useful store of knowledge about Russia and had made numerous valuable contacts in the diplomatic corps. His account of the diplomatic negotiations in Moscow and the military operations on Russian soil is thoroughly competent. But he spoke very little Russian and therefore did not understand too well the character of the Russian people "toiling and fighting with no thought of politics but only of winning the war."

When Winston Churchill flew to Moscow in 1942 for his conversations with Stalin on questions of Allied strategy and the second front, many people in Britain and America believed that the British Prime Minister had made a hit. This, Cassidy tells us, was not the case. Churchill attempted to meet the Russians on their own level by coming to a formal dinner

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in something described as a pair of overalls, and quibbled over questions of protocol at a time when the Russians were speaking informally and directly. The inference one draws from reading Cassidy's account, although he does not say it in so many words, is that Churchill did not succeed in impressing the Russians as favorably as he impressed the Americans.

Willkie, on the other hand, Cassidy says, made a splendid impression on the Soviet leaders; he was realistic and fair in his attitude toward the Russians as well as objective in his reports about them. Cassidy considered Willkie and his two companions, Mike Cowles and Joseph Barnes, first-rate reporters and worthy representatives of the United States.

Two chapters of "Moscow Dateline" deal with the Cassidy-Stalin correspondence. As the author modestly and correctly points out, Stalin chose the Associated Press and its correspondents in Moscow as a channel through which to say something to the world at large, thus avoiding the unfavorable reception which the statement might have met in many quarters had it been made in an official speech or through the Soviet news agency Tass. Stalin has said much more important things to his own press which have passed almost unnoticed in foreign countries. By writing a letter to Cassidy, Stalin got the ideas he was interested in putting across on the front pages of newspapers throughout the English-speaking world under the most reliable and conservative auspices, namely, the A. P.

These ideas were (1) that Russia expected a second front; (2) that the African campaign was all very well and would relieve the pressure on the Soviet Union to a certain extent, but the Red armies were still fighting the major battle of the war and would continue to do so with honor.

In his interesting remarks about Russia's future Cassidy is consistently logical. After the war, he says, Russia will be what it was before the war—Soviet. However, the Soviet system may become to a considerable degree democratized. "Stalin, who turned sixty-three years of age on December 21, 1942, may well relinquish the chairmanship of the Council of People's Commissars and the Commissariat of Defense after the war. But he will probably retain the Secretary-Generalship of the Communist Party as long as he lives, and the men of his native Georgia live to ripe old ages. As Secretary-General he will remain the autocrat of Russia, but one who is not in principle opposed to democracy."

Cassidy finds numerous indications that this partiality to democracy is already resulting in certain changes inside the country. "The regime . . . is showing its benevolence in many ways, some small, almost intangible, but all significant. The days of purges, for example, have ended." As instances, Cassidy remarks that certain streets in Moscow previously reserved for the use of official Kremlin cars are now open to traffic at large without restriction. No generals or other military men of high rank have been purged. The only one to disappear is Marshal Kulik, who has been in obscurity since well before the outbreak of the Soviet-German war.

In other words, the Soviet Union can be expected after the present war to develop in the direction of democracy. With this kind of Russia, says Cassidy, we can and must cooperate if the Allies are to win the peace as well as the war.

JOHN SCOTT

RANDOM HOUSE
BEST SELLERS

Gideon Planish
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His best and biggest novel since IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE . . . fast climbing to top rank on best seller lists throughout the country. 438 pages, $2.50

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Fiction in Review

A SOCIAL-WORK novel, despite the fact that it is unsparing in its criticism of that profession, Caroline Slade's "Lilly Crackell" (Vanguard, $3) is the most estimable novel I have read this week. A story of America's lower depths, "Lilly Crackell" traces the career of a young girl raised in the squalor that is so apt to fringe American prosperity. When we first meet Lilly, it is 1918; Lilly is a lovable child of fourteen, about to become the mother of an illegitimate baby; twenty-four years later Lilly is the mother of six children and still the victim of almost unbelievable misery and privation. Mrs. Slade has not written an exciting novel, or even a novel which is very creative in a fictional sense. "Lilly Crackell" is a painstaking sociological report on certain aspects of democracy which we prefer to ignore for the duration. It is a salutary corrective to the fashionable assumption that because we are at war against fascism abroad, we have the right—perhaps even the duty—to close our eyes to the poverty and injustice within our own land.

Mrs. Slade's indignation that people like Lilly Crackell can exist in this country is of the slow-simmering variety that indulges neither author nor reader, and her candor is completely unsensational. She writes barely and factually, with none of the "literary" overtones that make poverty good reading: it is unlikely that "Lilly Crackell" will have a fraction of the popular appeal of a "Grapes of Wrath." But the book is no less courageous. It takes courage, for instance, to make explicit the meaning of the war for people who have never had a chance to be anything but a drain on society. When Lilly's four sons are drafted, their army allowance is her first promise of decent food and housing, but it is a bitter promise: Lilly loves her sons, and their possible loss is a high price to pay for what may be only a temporary freedom from want. As for the boys themselves, they know nothing of what they are fighting for, and, indeed, why should they? All they know is that at long last they will have enough to eat and the medical and dental care they have needed so desperately. I have no particular fondness for fiction as reform, and there were even moments when I found "Lilly Crackell" tedious. But in the current flood of propaganda novels compounded of Hollywood-*Life* sentimentalized generalities, a book like Mrs. Slade's shines out for its old-fashioned zeal for decency.

At quite an opposite pole from Mrs. Slade's study in social responsibility is Edita Morris's highly individualistic first novel, "My Darling from the Lions" (Little, Brown: An Atlantic Monthly Press Book, $2.50); Mrs. Morris has published a volume of short stories but I am unacquainted with her earlier work. Her novel is set in Sweden, where she was born, and has two heroines, the sisters Anna and Jezza, who tell their first-person stories in alternating chapters. Both girls are excruciatingly precious, and precious to themselves; self-love seems to be a concomitant of sensibility in women writers, and Mrs. Morris is one of those oh-the-aching-wonder-of-it-all literary women for whom a snowflake or a sausage is equal matter for ecstasy. Yet whatever my dislike of so much preciosity, I have to admit Mrs. Morris's talent. Cumulatively, her sensibility loses some of its exacerbation and even begins to take effect; after the first hundred

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pages I found myself acutely aware of the charm of her village in northern Sweden, almost as nostalgic for it as if I had experienced it myself. And it is certainly no denigration of Mrs. Morris's gifts to say that she frequently invites comparison with better writers than herself: for example, her gallery of decayed gentlewomen—Anna and Jezza's aunts—is suggestive of Chekhov, and the spiritual stature which she can give to the life of privacy suggests Isak Dinesen.

Edita Morris is Swedish by birth, but her experience has been cosmopolitan and she writes in English. "Ride This Night!" (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50) has been translated from the Swedish of Vilhelm Moberg. An apologue of present-day conditions in Nazi-occupied Europe, "Ride This Night!" is an account of a peasant revolt against feudal oppression in the days of Queen Christina. The outline of Mr. Moberg's novel is pretty conventional: his hero, the sole member of his small farming community who has the courage to resist subjugation, loses his land, his friends, his sweetheart, and finally his life, but dies with the knowledge that he has died for freedom. More interesting than this familiar story is Mr. Moberg's convincing description of seventeenth-century peasant customs, especially his recreation of peasant superstitions. His fund of folklore rather than his right-mindedness makes tolerable the Knut Hamsunish bread-and-water, ox-and-plow rhythm of his prose.

Ayn Rand's "The Fountainhead" (Bobbs-Merrill, $3) is a 754-page orgy of glorification of that sternest of arts, architecture. What Ruth McKenney's Jake Home is to the proletarian movement, Ayn Rand's Howard Roark is to public and domestic buildings—a giant among men, ten feet tall and with flaming hair, Genius on a scale that makes the good old Broadway version of art-in-a-beret look like Fra Angelico. And surrounding Howard Roark there is a whole galaxy of lesser monsters—Gail Wynand, who is Power, and Peter Keating, who is Success, and Dominique, who is Woman. When Genius meets Woman, it isn't the earth that rocks, but steel girders. Surely "The Fountainhead" is the curiosity of the year, and anyone who is taken in by it deserves a stern lecture on paper-rationing.

Although I came to Xavier Herbert's "Capricornia" (Appleton-Century, $3) after it had already established something of a reputation as an exciting novel, I found it singularly dull and heavy-handed. Beginning about forty years ago when the Port Darwin section of Australia was just being opened up, it is a saga of pioneer life in a country in which all of us are very much interested nowadays. But although Mr. Herbert has an intense love of his land, his attitude toward the people who live in it is unremittingly ironic and even contemptuous. All the characters in "Capricornia," and there are scores of them, are lower-middle-class people without education or tradition; what is disturbing is that they are also without dignity in the eyes of their author. Yet theoretically Mr. Herbert is always on the side of the angels. In his treatment of the blacks and half-castes, for instance, he supports their social and political cause by laudable if stilted argument; at the same time he never represents them with any of the virtues he assigns to them in theory. And in contrast to American pioneer life, Mr. Herbert's picture of pioneer life in Australia is markedly lacking in gaiety and heroism.

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FILMS

"PRELUDE TO WAR" is the first of the army orientation films put out by Lieutenant Colonel Frank Capra's Special Services Unit. It is the sort of thing one can expect when capable film-makers work for a great and many-leveled audience—the best, I suspect, which this country has ever had—under no obligation to baby or cajole, and for a serious purpose.

The intention of the film is to tell the history of fascism from the Mukden incident through the invasion of Ethiopia. Interested experts will object that it does not tell that history *whole;* I think it more important that here for the first time an American film tries to give the general dimensions of a theory and practice which has customarily been treated, in government and Hollywood films alike, as if it were the hate that dare not speak its name.

The method is more verbose than I wish it were or am sure it need be; but if the American addiction to word-dominated films is crystallizing into an American form, this is a useful model. The profuse text has been vigilantly researched and on the whole is respectably written. More shrewdness has been used here to make screen images point, edge, impregnate, or explode the spoken text than I have seen used before; at times the border line is crossed into full cinematic possibility, and words serve the screen instead or even do it the greatest service, of withdrawal. For a film made up chiefly of old newsreels and confiscated enemy footage, a surprising amount is new, and a surprising amount of the new is excellent. There is an eye for the unprecedented powers which can reside in simple record photographs—the ferocious inadvertent caricature, the moment when a street becomes tragic rather than a mere street, the intricate human and political evidence in unknown faces—which is here equaled only by the quiet, dry-touched forcefulness with which such images are cut in. A newsreel poll of American war sentiment in 1939 is brilliantly used. There is a long, pouring, speechless sequence, intelligently sustained by rudimentary drumbeats, of marching children, youths, and men which is a virtuoso job of selection and cutting, and the grimmest image of fascism I have seen on a screen.

There are also faults. Over-all, the film is so crowded and so ramified that it has no ultimate musical coherence. Things like the drummed march, which had every right to be cinematically overwhelming, are merely impressive. I found repeated references to a Mr. John Q. Public embarrassing, for I felt they betrayed an underestimation of the audience of which the picture as a whole is hearteningly free. A few production shots, like the salon bit showing the withered, rosaried hands of an old woman (which may, heaven forbid, be a stock shot after all; the salon manner has infected so much), are unnecessarily dissonant. In the effort to relieve the monotony of one commentator's voice, too many voices are used, and too many of these voices suggest the cheerful drawers peddlers and the flunked divinity students who are the normal cantors for our non-fiction films. I also noticed with regret that many of the shots devoted to demonstrating that John Q. Public's country is a horse of another color were indeed of another color, glossy and insipid; but I blame this less on the country than on the fact that few of us, conspicuously excepting Walker Evans, have yet learned how to make a camera show what a country it is. It was extremely disconcerting at the end to see a "two worlds" image of Vice-President Wallace's overdrawn to a point at which an image of the Western Hemisphere, described as "free," totally eclipses the "slave" hemisphere. The film as a whole indicates that this unfortunate piece of misorientation could not have been deliberate, but it should be rectified.

Suffocating to meet nose to nose (it is over two hours of Virginia Dare wine, women, and song), "Stage Door Canteen" is beautiful as a preview of a period piece. Any film is, but this one carries a saturation of the mannerisms of fourth-decade entertainment, patriotism, and sub-idealized lovemaking which could supply almost any twenty others. The best of the patriotism is implicit rather than overt. The lovemaking is strictly church-supper. The entertainment is best. Lack of space, libel laws, and a fondness for entertainers, all prevent any detail on the subject; but we can safely remember that every piece of entertainment, like every political speech or swatch of advertising copy, has nightmarish accuracy as a triple-distilled image of a collective dream, habit, or desire. My favorite few minutes was Gracie Fields's rendition of the Lord's Prayer as set, it sounded, by Stainer or more so. In the music itself, in every gesture used to sell it and every inflection, in the reverent, faintly embarrassed audience, this is the most touching and complex bit of religious history which has ever reached the screen; the whole footage of "The King of Kings" is just a Ford hour by comparison. "Stage Door Canteen" is achingly long; a lot of the dialogue is dragged in by heels who should never have been hired even to drag it out; and Frank Borzage should have used a spare cameraman with first-rate eyes to work the Canteen floor for its wonderful possibilities. Yet this is a nice harmless picture for the whole family; and it is a gold mine for those who are willing to go to it in the wrong spirit.

George Stevens's last film as a civilian ("The More the Merrier") is partly nice and partly disappointing. The chiseling, cringing sex and claustrophobia of war-torn Washington might have delivered a really original, really native comedy, and the types set up to carry this comedy are not bad in conception; they are spoiled in the execution. Stevens has a free, pretty feeling for business (like Jean Arthur's awkwardness after the love scene on the steps), for special colorations of talk (there is some good adlibbing), and for gratuitous satire (a poke at the G-men and a snort at the surplus of women in Washington). Yet the film as a whole is a tired soufflé, for unfortunately Stevens doesn't know where to stop. Farce, like melodrama, offers very special chances for accurate observation, but here accuracy is avoided ten times to one in favor of the easy burlesque or the easier idealization which drops the bottom out of farce. Every good moment frazzles or drowns. The most flagrant example is Jean Arthur, whose mugging and whinnying seemed to me as redundant and, at length, as uningratiating, as if a particularly cute monkey, instead of merely holding out his hat for a penny which I might gladly have made a quarter, insisted that he was working his way through Harvard.

I recommend a look at "Wings Up," the best OWI short I have seen, and at Paramount's "African Report" because it seems to try, even though it fails, to learn some much-needed lessons from "Desert Victory." I wanted to write here of fifteen fragments of avant-garde films which were recently shown by Hans Richter at the Museum of Modern Art, but there is only room to say that though I respected their intentions, and believed great things can still or always come of small-audience films proudly made on shoestrings, there is no substitute for the born cinematic talent which René Clair's "Entr'Acte" so delightfully showed and

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which nearly all the rest so depressingly lacked. Finally, I regret having missed "The Ox-Bow Incident" and for the moment can only pass on the word of trustworthy people that it is worth seeing, as I would expect a William Wellman film to be. JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

A FEW concerts at the close of the season require mention. There was fine work by the Philadelphia Orchestra at the New York concert at which Szigeti played Mozart's A major Concerto and Prokofiev's Concerto No. 1; and Szigeti himself was in top form, though his phrasing in the finale of the Mozart work was excessively accentuated and arch. The Budapest Quartet ended its series at the Y. M. H. A. with an unforgettable performance of Schubert's C major Quintet, with Frank Miller of the N. B. C. Symphony as assisting cellist. And the National Orchestral Association provided an opportunity to hear Schubert's early pint-sized Mass in G, which has some lovely music. On this occasion the chorus was the Collegiate Chorale of Robert Shaw, which sang three more terrible pieces by William Schuman, and, as an encore, a Negro spiritual in a way which leads me to characterize Mr. Shaw as the young Stokowski of choral conducting.

My report on the lethally dull performance of Bach's Suite No. 5 by Luigi Silva brought me a letter from a young member of the armed forces who had attended the concert while on leave. Encountering Virgil Thomson after the concert, he writes, "I asked him would he mind telling me what did he think of the cello playing, and he said he thought it was the most wonderful in the world and asked me what did I feel about it and . . . I answered quite sincerely that maybe I was prejudiced because I was a cellist but that I thought it was incredibly dull. Whereupon all the way to Times Square I was regaled with a lot of nonsense about the secret of Bach was you should do his bowings upside down with a modern bow and the color of the Suite No. 5 is marvelous because the low A removes the sudden change in quality across the strings and that the variety of color was in the *score di tura* whatever that might be and then the next day the *Tribune* carried the final say on the subject, which you can or have read for yourself."

My warmest thanks to my correspondent; and will he now write me a letter about Mr. Thomson's recent fantasy-spinning on the French style. For this calls for my correspondent's technique, rather than my own mere presentation of such facts as the flatness and insipidity of Casadesus's phrasing of the long cantilena in the middle section of the slow movement of Mozart's Concerto K.595, as against the life created in the phrases by the contours and tensions of Schnabel's phrasing (and for Casadesus substitute any other French pianist); or the stolidity of the Cortot-École Normale performances of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos, as against the buoyancy and sparkle of the Busch Chamber Players' performances; or that the greatest phrasing and style we have heard has been that of musicians who have not been French by birth or, as far as I know, by training—Casals, Toscanini, Schnabel, Beecham, Szigeti, Landowska, Hempel, Matzenauer, Rethberg, Schumann.

In the preoccupation with what this war has done to whole populations in Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia, Norway, there has been a neglect of the havoc it has created in the lives of our expatriate musicians in tearing them away from the culture embodied in those Paris concerts under the patronage of Princess This and Marquise That at which was played the latest piece by Satie or Sauguet or Markevitch or one of the expatriates, and in compelling them to return to a land in which the public—the wisps of hay clinging to its hair, the cow-dung to its boots—stamps into Carnegie Hall to listen to Beethoven performed by Toscanini. And the courage with which exiled Europeans in this country have fitted together again the pieces of their broken lives is not more touching than the persistence that recently produced a bit of old Paris at the Museum of Modern Art—the Serenades sponsored by a committee with a Marquise and a Prince, and devoted to "rare music ancient and modern."

The rare ancient music at the first concert turned out to be Mozart's G minor Quintet; the modern music was rarer, and I hope will be even more so, including as it did Debussy's Sonata for flute, viola, and harp, which is one of those late exercises in Debussyan style in a vacuum; a new Piano Quartet by Martinu, which provided another example of this composer's ability to spin out nothing much into nothing much more; and Virgil Thomson's Seven Choruses from the "Medea" of Euripides, on which the texts of Euripides (in Countee Cullen's translation) themselves constituted an annihilating commentary.

At the second concert there were to have been a rare harpsichord concerto of Mozart and symphony of Méhul; instead there were Mozart's early G minor Symphony, of which the performance conducted by Beecham was very exciting, and Bach's great Concerto in D minor, with the solo part played on the harpsichord by Ralph Kirkpatrick with an ostentatious lack of feeling for either the music or the instrument. And there was a Little Suite of Handel-Beecham, which turned out to be too big and with too much Beecham in the arrangement. Having no desire to rehear Falla's Harpsichord Concerto I left, and missed Arnell's Divertimento No. 2, which someone told me afterward was very good. The third concert began with what was described as the first New York performance of Revueltas's "Homage to García Lorca," which turned out to be the atrocious music used in the Ballet Theater's "Don Domingo." Then came Paul Bowles's "The Wind Remains," described as a "zarzuela in one act, after García Lorca, adapted by the composer," which, as it was staged with painfully amateurish actors, carried incoherence to the point of sheer lunacy. There was also to have been an opera buffa, "Pedro Malazarte," by Camargo Guarnieri; instead there was "El Café de Chinitas," a ballet based on a folk-song recorded by Lorca, which was danced and sung by Argentinita and her company, and which was delightful. And at that point, looking ahead to what the last two concerts of the series promised, I stopped.

"El Café de Chinitas" was presented later as part of the Spanish Festival that Mr. Hurok put on for two nights at the Metropolitan Opera House. There it suffered from the huge size of the auditorium and even more from the gigantic Dali décor which had been designed as usual to prevent the eye from looking at anything else. In this expanded version the finest Spanish male dancer I have seen in recent years, Juan Martinez, made a brief appearance, in addition to José Greco and Manolo Vargas who danced superbly with Argentinita and Pilar López all evening.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Culbertson Replies

Dear Sirs: Louis Fischer has a fine, idealistic streak in him. Unfortunately, however, he represents that section of the liberals who suffer from the unworldly disease called "Perfectionitis." There is nothing more unrealistic than the goals of an unlimited liberal in a world of limited means. Reactionaries and imperialists thrive in the face of such opposition.

If liberalism has suffered many disastrous defeats in the past, it is mainly because the liberals have dispersed their creative efforts by seeking to achieve all their goals at once. Louis Fischer conducts his crusades in total ideological isolation, inspired by a mystic faith in the power of noble resolves and "aroused public sentiment."

The World Federation Plan has only one goal—to stop future wars of aggression. Everything else is subordinated to this. All available means are carefully calculated so as to achieve the maximum promise of the realization of this goal *within the next few years*. There are three tasks which we must accomplish if we are to achieve this goal:

First, we must attack the means of making war by segregating the decisive heavy weapons and armed forces and placing them in the hands of a world organization. Heretofore this has been impossible because there has been no method which would satisfy the individual military defense of the great powers and at the same time create an overwhelming world police, independent of the power politics still prevailing in the relations between the great states. The Quota Force Mechanism achieves exactly this. Nothing so far proposed by Mr. Fischer could achieve it.

Second, we must create a framework for a World Cooperative of Nations with proper executive agencies, independent of the rivalries and selfish interests of the sovereign states. Only within such a framework can we carry out the program of world-wide economic reconstruction which is indispensable as a second line of defense against a world counter-revolution and future Hitlers. We must avoid the grievous error of putting an economic cart before a political horse. We must avoid, also, the grievous error of trying to build a purely ideal framework without taking into account the powerful forces of nationalism now dominating our world. After all, my best answer to Fischer has been made by Stalin in his dissolution of the Third International. I do not seek, like Louis Fischer, to abolish nationalism. Abolishing nationalism is like trying to abolish love. We can abolish love only by abolishing women. And we shall abolish nationalism only when we abolish nations. I merely seek to distil from the poisons of nationalism an antidote for the social cancer of war. The outcome of the coming Battle of the Peace will depend on whether we succeed or fail in integrating the forces of nationalism and internationalism in a workable synthesis. The structure and politico-economic organs of the eleven Regional Federations and the World Federation can achieve such a synthesis. Nothing so far proposed by Mr. Fischer could achieve it.

Third, we must, within this new framework, create institutions and methods for a program of world-wide education and scientific research. This is our third and most important line of defense against social injustice and violence by the few. The program of world-wide education and scientific experimentation must include experimentation in the social forms of government, which can be carried out only by free and sovereign nations. Once the nations are free from the terrible threat of aggression, the emancipated world will move by leaps and bounds toward Fischer's ideals, which are also mine. Then, and only then, shall we see the dawn of a new era for humanity—the era of world citizenship. The World Federation Plan offers at least a promise of such an achievement. Nothing so far proposed by Mr. Fischer could achieve it.

It is all very well for Mr. Fischer to conduct a sniping campaign from the clouds of dialectic sophistry. He says: "I believe that the criticism of harmful proposals is in itself constructive. . . . If I have convinced anybody, the way is cleared for a better plan." I await Louis Fischer's "better plan."

Fischer says that in his recent travels over this country he observed everywhere the urgent need for inspiration. I too have recently traveled up and down this wonderful country of ours. It is true that the people want an inspiration and seek a positive ideal But there is something else they want much more. They want a concrete, specific, and detailed presentation of the terrifying problems of the post-war world. They are sick of noble resolves, of appeals for economic justice, of imprecations against the forces of evil. They want exact blueprints for the House of Peace they are determined to build. Not everyone was in favor of the World Federation Plan. But everyone was enthusiastic about the fact that it is the first concrete and specific proposal dealing with the vast architecture of war and peace. This was something for them to chew on. They could line up for or against it.

I don't expect Louis Fischer to line up in favor of the World Federation Plan. But I do not intend to let Louis Fischer or other intellectuals like him enjoy in peace the fruits of their convenient rationalizations. The World Federation Plan is far too organic, too concrete, and too realistic to be dismissed with elegant innuendoes.

Louis Fischer has a sensitive conscience. He must not only do a much better job of proving the "harmfulness" of the plan. He must also lend his creative efforts, adding perspiration to inspiration, and produce a better and equally concrete plan.

ELY CULBERTSON

New York, June 3

CONTRIBUTORS

BETTY KIRK has been a correspondent in Mexico for six years, representing papers in England and the United States. She is the author of "Covering the Mexican Front," recently published with an introduction by former Ambassador Josephus Daniels. She is now in the United States, but will soon return to Mexico to begin work on a new book.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of "Literature and Society" and "Art for Art's Sake."

PAUL ROSENFELD was an editor of "The American Caravan," and is the author of "By Way of Art."

JOHN SCOTT is the author of "Behind the Urals: an American Worker in Russia's City of Steel" and "Duel for Europe: Stalin versus Hitler."

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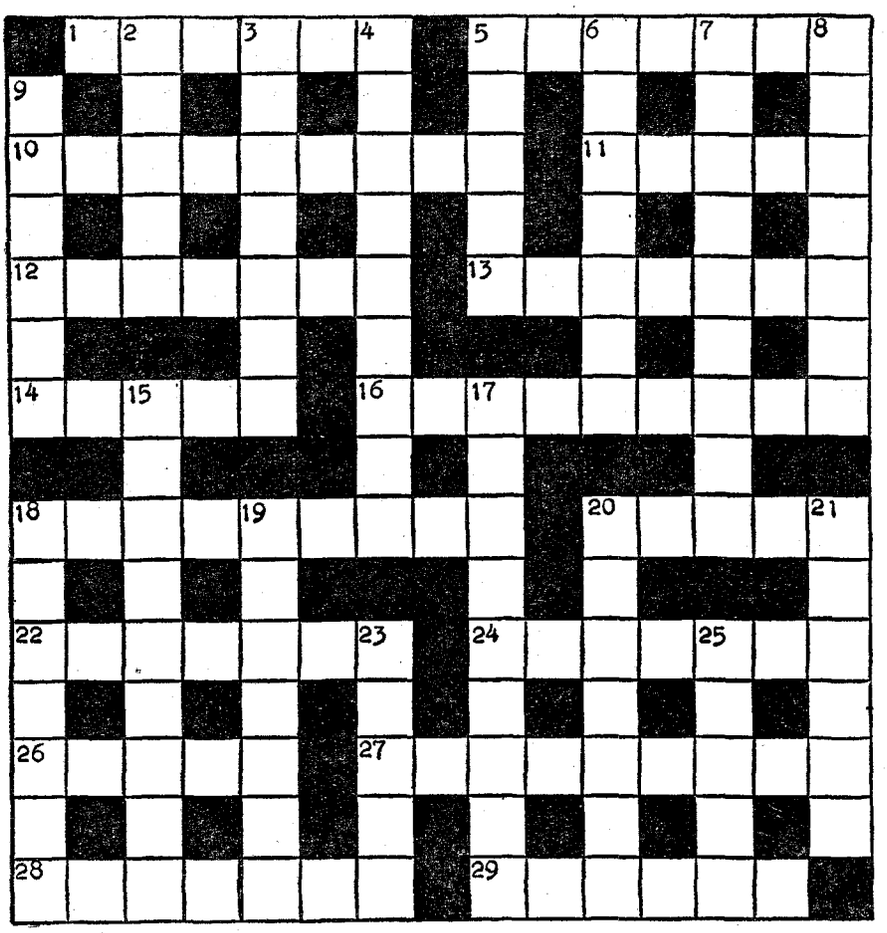
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 17

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 and 5 They attempt colorfully to reinforce threadbare prose
10 I hate rock! (anag.)
11 The poet called the butterfly's wing a living one
12 Funeral procession
13 Hide away
14 A rarity in the Isle of Man
16 I rose late (anag.)
18 Sport fans who attend the first part to see the second (hyphen, 4 and 5)
20 A slight change will make him apter
22 Ran back surrounded by bees!
24 Leaves, or leafless tracts
26 Has this girl a heart of stone?
27 Climb on this and join the party!
28 Article of apparel for a slave-driving employer?
29 A priest will give you this spirit

DOWN

2 Say, isn't this complete?
3 There'll be little change in them this year
4 Absolve from single tax
5 Its representatives don't mind accepting paper money
6 The Capitol brought up-to-date
7 A warm toddy around 10 is common in South Africa
8 Patches up the military men when I withdraw
9 "The Daughter of the Regiment," for example
15 In a hundred I've a stimulus
17 The people who live there
18 Their purpose is not to make typewriters look more attractive
19 Item of clothing with only one arm
20 There is some discussion as to whether we should plan for this world now (hyphen, 4 and 3)
21 Take ill
23 It simply isn't drunk
25 Whether a move towards this is in this direction depends on the political viewpoint

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 16

ACROSS:—1 DUCKBOARD; 6 HAWKE; 9 ALSO RAN; 10 UPSTART; 11 ELI; 12 DASHED; 13 WHEN; 15 TUNING IN; 16 BARREL; 18 WAITER; 20 LOCKHEED; 23 CODE; 24 YELLOW; 25 ALL; 28 ISOLATE; 29 PUNSTER; 30 RISKS; 31 THESAURUS.

DOWN:—1 DRAKE; 2 CASPIAN; 3 BARN DANCES; 4 AGNOSTIC; 5 DOUSES; 6 HOSE; 7 WEATHER; 8 ENTANGLED; 14 LACKAWANNA; 15 TOWN CRIER; 17 COLLAPSE; 19 INDOORS; 21 EXACTOR; 22 DEFECT; 26 LYRES; 27 OARS.

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